

THE *B. T. 11. 701*  
PRESENT STATE  
OF  
Ireland:

TOGETHER  
With some Remarques  
Upon the Antient State  
thereof.

Likewise a Description of the  
Chief Towns:

With a MAP of the  
Kingdome.

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LONDON,

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THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF

1793

With some Remarks  
upon the



likewise a  
Description of the

With a Map of the  
Kingdom

Printed by J. DODD, at the Theatre Royal, in Pall Mall.





THE  
EPISTLE  
TO THE  
READER.



uch cannot be expected (upon a Subject of this Nature) from a private Person, and one who was seconded with few other helps to accomplish his desires herein, than to consult his own thoughts, and a small number of Books that lay by him. However, the Reader may be well assured, there is nothing offered here to his consideration in relation to the Present, or Antient State of Ireland (as

## The Epistle.

far as the Subject would possibly admit of the same) but what is back'd with good Authority, and faithfully related by the Author, according to the best information he could obtain. As for other matters here Essayed by way of conjecture, the Author well hopes this mean attempt will shortly administer a fit occasion for a more knowing Person, and abler Pen, to render the World more ample satisfaction touching the Publick Affairs, and State of that Kingdome; wherein it may seem strange, how that this our Age affords many Treatises entituled The present State of Enngland, France, Italy, Holland, Venice, Muscovy, &c. yet not any thing of that Nature (since his Majesties happy Restauration) hath been hitherto presented to publick view in relation to the State of Ireland, though it be one of the chiefeest Members  
of

## The Epistle.

of the British Empire; as if either there were no such thing in Nature; Or at least, that the Affairs thereof afforded not any thing worthy of Note: whereas indeed the continued infelicity of that unhappy Kingdome (till of late) might alone (besides many other remarks made mention of in this ensuing Treatise) justly breed some curiosity in any knowing person to take into his consideration, what were the true causes why that Realm, whereof our Kings of England have born the Title of Sovereign Lords for the space of four hundred and odd years (a period of time wherein divers great Monarchies have risen from Barbarism to Civility, and fallen again to Ruine) was not in all that space of time thoroughly subdued, & reduced to the obedience of the Crown of England, although there hath been almost a continual war between the English

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*and the Irish ; and why the manners of the meer Irish, were so little altered (till King James his Reign) since the days of King Henry the Second (as appeareth by the description made by Giraldus Cambrensis who lived and wrote in that time) although there hath been since that time so many English Colonies planted in Ireland, as that if the people had been numbred by the Poll, such as were descended of English race, would have been found more in number, than the antient Natives. To give therefore a brief account of the true causes of those disorders, as also of the exquisite remedies applyed (by the late Settlement of Ireland) in order to a perfect Reformation of the same, is one of the chief ends and design of this discourse, wherein if it gives the Reader any competent satisfaction, the Author will deem himself thereby well rewarded for his pains.*

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THE  
Present State  
OF  
IRELAND.



O pass by the story how *Casaria*, supposed to be first inhabited by Noah's Neece, inhabited *IRELAND* before the Flood; and how three hundred years after the Flood, it was subdued by one *Bartholanus* a *Scythian*, who overcame here, I know not what Giants, with other such stuffe, wholly resting on the Testimony of the *Irish* Chronicles, which are thought

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THE  
Present State  
OF  
IRELAND.



O pass by the story how *Casaria*, supposed to be first inhabited by *IRELAND* before the Flood; and how three hundred years after the Flood, it was subdued by one *Bartholomaeus a Scythian*, who overcame here, I know not what Giants, with other such stuffe, wholly resting on the Testimony of the *Irish Chronicles*, which are thought

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to relish too much of the Fable; and not altogether to rely upon that opinion grounded on very probable Circumstances, that this Island was first Inhabited by the mixt Nations of *Spaniards*, *Ganles*, *Africans* or *Goths*, coming out of *Spain*; and by the *Britains* out of *Britain* (the *Irish* being observed to partake of the Customes and Manners of each of these People;) but it seems most likely, that the first Inhabitants thereof came wholly out of *Britain*; *Britain* being the highest unto it, and thereby affording the conveniency of a more speedy Wastage thither; and the antient Customes, Laws, Language and Dispositions of these People being not much unlike the *Britains*, though they were accounted far more Barbarous and Savage by most antient Writers, than those of *Britain* are said to be at the first discovery, having never been made so happy as to come under the power of the *Romans*, the Great Masters of Civility and good Letters in the West of *Europe*, by means where-  
of

of, their Actions and Affairs were buried in Oblivion.

The Ancient Inhabitants of this Ireland Island being thus conceived to be *first Inva-*  
Originally *Britains*, and the *Scots* *ded by the*  
found to inhabit here, about the *Saxon Mo-*  
fall of the *Roman* Empire; the first *narch.*  
Onset it received, by way of Inva-  
sion, was by the *Saxon* Monarchs :  
who, casting their Eyes upon it,  
made themselves Masters of *Dub-*  
*lin* and some other places; but  
could not long possess the same, as  
being hardly able to defend their  
own, against that People.

The next that undertook the *Next, by*  
Conquest thereof (being about *the Nor-*  
*Anno 830.*) were the Northern *thern Na-*  
Nations of *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Nor-*  
*mans*; all passing, in the Chronicles *tions, all*  
of those times, under the Name of *passing un-*  
*Norwegians*; who first scouring a- *der the*  
long the Sea-coasts, by way of Py- *Names of*  
racy, and afterwards finding the *Danes,*  
weakness of the Island, being divi- *Swedes &*  
ded amongst many petit and incon- *Normans.*  
siderable Princes, made an absolute  
Conquest of it, under the Conduct  
of one *Turgesin*, whom they Elect-

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ed for their King, but were soon rooted out by the policy of the King of *Meth*, the only *Irish* Prince then in favour with the Tyrant. These Northern Nations were the first that brought the *Irish* acquainted with Traffick, and Commerce, and with building of Castles and Fortresses, only upon the Sea-coasts; having hitherto known no other defence, but Woods, Boggs or Stoakes.

And last  
of all, by  
the Eng-  
lish, in K.  
Henry 2<sup>d</sup>s  
reign, An.  
1172.

After this, the Roytelets, or petty Princes, enjoying their former Dominions till the year 1172. in which, *Dermot Mac Morogh* King of *Lynster*, having forced the Wife of *Maurice O Rorke* King of *Meth*, was driven, by him, out of his Kingdome; who, applying himself to *Henry* the Second, of *England*, for succor; received Aid, under the leading of *Richard de Clare*, Sir-named *Strongbow*, Earle of *Pembroke*, to be restored to his Kingdom: by whose good success, and the rest of the Adventurers, upon the Arrival of *Henry* the Second in *Ireland*; his very Presence, without drawing his

his Sword prevailed so far, as that all the petty Kings or great Lords, within *Lynster, Connaght and Munster*, submitted themselves unto him; promising to pay him Tribute, and acknowledging him their chief and Sovereign Lord: But as the Conquest was but slight and superficial, so the *Irish* Submissions, were but weak and fickle assurances to hold in Obedience so considerable a Kingdom; for no sooner were the Kings of *Englands* backs turned, but the *Irish* returned to their former Rebellions; and the Kings of *England* had here, no more power or profit, than the great ones of the Country were pleased to give them: for they governed their People by the *Brehon* Law, they made their own Magistrates and Officers, pardoned and punished all Malefactors within their several Countries, made War and Peace one with the other, without controulment; and this they did, not only during the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, but also in the times succeeding, even until the

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Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which Conquest became thus imperfect, by reason of two great Defects; first, in the faint prosecution of the War, and next, in the looseness of the Civil Government.

*The Conquest of Ireland by the English imperfect (till of late) by reason of two defects, viz. first, faint Prosecution of the War, & the Causes of it.*

As touching the carriage of Martial Affairs, from the seventeenth year of King *Henry* the Second, at what time the first overture was made for the Conquest of *Ireland*, until the nine and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when that Royal Army was sent over to suppress the Rebellion of *Tyrone*; which in the end, made an universal and absolute Conquest of all the *Irishry*. It is very evident, that the *English*, either raised here, or sent hither from time to time out of *England*, were alwaies too weak to Subdue and Master so many Warlike Nations (or Septs) of the *Irish* as did possess this Island; and besides their weakness, they were ill paid and worse Governed. And if at any time, there arrived out of *England* an Army of competent strength and power, it did rather terrifie, than break



break or subdue this People; being ever broken and dissolved by some one accident and impediment or other, before the perfection of the Conquest of it; as namely, *Henry* the Second, by the Rebellion of his Sons: *King John*, *Henry* the Third and *Edward* the Second, by the *Barons Wars*: *Edward* the First, by his Wars in *Wales* and *Scotland*: *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fifth, by the Wars of *France*: *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Sixth and *Edward* the Fourth, by Domestick contention for the Crown of *England* it self: *Richard* the Third, not worth mentioning, as having never got the quiet possession of *England*, but was cast out by *Henry* the Seventh, within two years and an half after his Usurpation: And *Henry* the Seventh himself, though he made the happy Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; yet for more than half the space of his Reign there were walking Spirits of the House of *York*, which he could not conjure down, without the expence

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of some Bloud and Treasure. *Henry* the Eighth was diverted by his two Expeditions into *France*, at the first and latter part of his Reign, and in the middle thereof, wholly taken up with the troubles created to him by the great alteration of Ecclesiastical Affairs: And lastly, the Infancy of King *Edward* and the Coverture of Queen *Mary* (which were both not-abilities in Law) did likewise in fact disable them to accomplish the Conquest of *Ireland*; so that all the Kings of *England* coming thus far short as to the perfecting of the true Conquest of *Ireland*; let us examine what other impediments were given thereunto in point of Martial Affairs by the Adventurers themselves that first undertook the Conquest of this Kingdom upon their own account.

*That the first English Adventurers had good success in Ireland during the first forty years.*

It doth appear, that for the space of about forty years after the first landing of the *English* in *Ireland* till the seventeenth year of King *John*, (during all which time there was no Army transmitted out of *England* land

land to finish the Conquest of *Ireland*) that the Adventurers and Colonies already planted there, proceeded with so much good success, as they gained very large portions of ground in every Province: As namely, the Earl of *Strongbow*, by his Marriage with the Daughter of *Mac Morrough* in *Lynster*; the *Lacies* in *Meth*; the *Giraldines*, and other Adventurers in *Munster*; the *Andeleys*, *Gernons*, *Clintons*, *Russels*, and other Voluntaries of Sir *John de Courcies* retinue in *Ulster*; and the *Bourkes* (planted by *William Fitz-Adelme*) in *Connaght*.

The *English* Colonies being thus dispersed through all the Provinces of *Ireland*; were necessitated, from the twelfth year of King *John*, till the six and thirtieth year of King *Edward* the Third, (being about an hundred and fifty years) to maintain a continual bordering War between them and the *Irish*, without receiving (during all that time) any supply, either of Men or Money, out of *England* to manage the same: So that all the chief

*But being necessitated for a long time to maintain a bordering War against the Irish at the charge of the English Planters.*

### The present State

Governours of the Realm, and the *English* Lords who had gotten such great Possessions and Royalties ( as that they presumed to make War and Peace at their pleasure, without the least advice or direction from the State ) being forced to levy all their Forces within the Land, who being ill Paid and worse Governed, it so came to pass, ( the publick Revenues of *Ireland* being then inconsiderable to sustain such a charge ) that as well the Ordinary Forces which stood continually, as the extraordinary, which were levied by the chief Governour, upon Journeys and general Hostings, were for the most part laid upon the poor Subjects descended of *English* race ; which burden was in some measure tollerable during the Reign of King *Henry* the Third, and *Edward* the First ; but afterwards became insupportable in the time of King *Edward* the Second ; For *Morrice Fitz-Thomas* Earl of *Desmond* being chief Commander of the Army against the *Scots*, began that wicked extortion of Coyn and

and Livery, and pay; that is, he and his Army took Horse-meat, Manf-meat, and Money at their pleasure, without giving any Ticket, or other satisfaction for the same.

This wicked imposition (made High Treason by the Statute of 11. *The Eng-lish Plan-* *tations in* *Ireland be-* *gan to de-* *cay.* *H. 4.*) became afterwards so habitual and general a fault of all the Governours and Commanders of the Army in this Land, that in a short time it inforced (because the great English Lords and Captains had power to impose this charge, when and where they pleased) many of the poor *English* Free-holders to give unto those Lords a great part of their Lands, that they might hold the rest free from that extortion: And many others not being able to endure so intollerable a burthen, did utterly quit their Free-holds, and returned into *Eng-land*; by means whereof the *Eng-lish* Colonies did soon grow poor and feeble, and the *English* Lords became rich and mighty: for having placed *Irish* Tenants upon the Lands

## The present State

Lands, relinquished by the *English*, upon whom they levied all *Irish* exactions, and with whom they married, fostered, and made Gossips; so as within one age both *English* Lords and Free-holders became degenerate and meer *Irish* in their Language, Apparel, Arms and manner of fight, and all other Customs of life whatsoever.

That Morrice Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, was the first began that wicked Custom of Coyn and Livery.

But that I may not quit my self so soon of this subject, before I give a more particular satisfaction to the Reader, touching the evil consequences that ensued upon the general practice of this wicked Extortion of Coyn and Livery, (which indeed was one of the chiefeſt causes of the sudden decay and ruine of the first *English* Colonies in *Ireland*) he may be pleased to understand, that the forementioned *Thomas Fitz-Morrice*, Earl of *Desmond*, did soon (by these oppressive courses) grow from a mean to a mighty Estate, in so much that his ancient inheritance being not one thousand Marks yearly, he became able to dispend every way ten thousand pound per Annum.

These

These possessions being thus unlawfully gained, could not be maintained by the just and honorable Laws of *England*, which would have restored the true owners to their Land again; And therefore this Great Man found no better means to continue and uphold his ill purchased greatness, then by rejecting the *English* Laws and Government, and assuming in lieu thereof the barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, whereupon followed the defection of those four Counties, containing the greatest parts of *Munster*, viz. *Kerry*, *Limrick*, *Cork*, and *Waterford*, from the obedience of the Law; and so successively by the same means, and much about the same time, the rest of the *English* Lords, and Free-holders in *Ireland* (except those of the *English* Pale) fell away from the *English* Law and Government in the end of King *Edward* the Second's Reign; and in the beginning of King *Edward* the third.

And truly it is here a fit subject of wonder, to consider to what height

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Ireland,  
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height of baseness the *English* arrived unto by this defection, in so much as within less time then the Age of a Man, they had no marks or differences left amongst them of that Noble Nation, from which they were descended; for they did not onely forget the *English* Language, and scorn the use thereof, but grew to be ashamed of their very *English* Names, though they were Noble and of great Antiquity, and took *Irish* Sir-names, and Nick-names. Namely the two most potent families of the *Bourkes* in *Connaght* (after the house of the Red Earl failed of Heirs Males) called their Chiefs *Mac William Eighter*, and *Mac William Oughter*. In the same Province, *Bremingham* Baron of *Athenry*, called himself *Mac Yeoris*. *D'Excester*, or *d'Exon*, was called, *Mac Jordan*. *Mangle*, or *d'Angulo*, took the name of *Mac Costello*. Of the inferiour Families of the *Bourkes*, one was called *Mac Hubbard*, another *Mac David*. In *Munster* of the great Families of the *Geraldines* planted there; one was called *Mac Morrice*,



*Morrice*, chief of the house of *Lixnaw*; and another *Mac Gibbon*, who was also called the White Knight. The chief of the Baron of *Dunboyns* house, who is a branch of the House of *Ormond*, took Sir-names of *Mac Pheris*. *Candon* of the County of *Waterford*, was called *Mac Majoke*: and the Arch-Deacon of the County of *Kilkenny*, *Mac Odo*. And this they did in contempt and hatred of the *English* Name and Nation; of whom these degenerated Families became more mortal enemies, then the meer *Irisb*.

The Native Subjects of *Ireland*, The Civil of *English* Race, in *Henry* the 6th's War of time, seeing the Kingdome thus York and utterly ruined, passed in such num- Lancaster, bers into *England*, as one Law was furthered made there, to transmit them back the ruine of the *English* again; and another Law made in Colonies in *Ireland* to stop their passage in eve- Ireland. ry Port and Creek: And as one ill fortune happens in the neck of another, the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry of *Meth*, past over afterwards into *England*, and were slain with *Richard* Duke of *York* (who

(who had been long Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) at the Battle of *Wakefield* in *York-shire*, after whose death, while the Wars between the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were in their heat, almost all the good *English* blood which was left in *Ireland*, was spent in these civil dissentions; so as the *Irish* became Victorious over all; without blood or sweat, except onely that little Canton of Land (as aforesaid) called the *English* Pale, containing the Counties of *Dublin*, *Louth*, *Kildare*, and *Meth*, (which last hath since the time of King *Henry* the Eighth been subdivided into three Counties; that is to say, *East-Meath*, *West-Meath*, and *Longford*) which onely maintained a bordering War, and retained the form of an *English* Government; so that by the fourteenth of King *Edward* the Fourth, the State of *Ireland* was grown to so low an ebbe upon an *English* account, that at their erecting a Fraternity of men of Armes, called the Brotherhood of *S. George*, for the defence of the said Pale, they

they exceeded not in number above 200. being all the standing Forces that were then in *Ireland*, and as they were Natives of the Kingdom, so the Kingdom it self did pay their wages, without expecting any Treasure out of *England*; However (the great Lords of the natural *Irish*, and degenerate *English* being divided into many factions, and never conjoynd in any one principle of common interest, and thereby consequently becoming very inconsiderable) this small spot of ground was valiantly maintained for a long time by the weak (but united Forces) of the Kings of *England*.

Having proceeded thus far in examining the chief causes that obstructed the Conquest of *Ireland* (till about the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* reign) as to Martial Affairs; I shall now endeavour in the next place to give some satisfaction touching those defects that were observed to be in the Civil Policy and Government of this Kingdome, which gave no less impediment to the full Conquest thereof; which doth

And secondly, looseness in the Civil Government of Ireland, for not communicating the Laws of England to the Irish.

doth first consist in this; That the Crown of *England* did not from the beginning give Laws to the *Irishry*, though the *Irish* did often desire to be admitted to the benefit of it, and protection of the *English* Laws, but could not obtain it. For although King *Henry* the Second before his return out of *Ireland*, held a Counsel or Parliament at *Lismore*, where the Laws of *England* were willingly accepted off by all the *Irishry*, and that confirm'd by their Oaths; And though King *John* in the twelfth year of his Reign, did establish the *English* Laws and Customes here, and the Courts of Judicature at *Dublin*, and placed Sheriffs and other Ministers to rule and govern the people according to the Laws of *England*; yet it is evident by all the Records of this Kingdome, that onely the *English* Colonies, and some few Septs of the *Irishry* (as *O Neal* of *Ulster*, *O Malagblin* of *Meath*, *O Connagher* of *Connaght*, *O Brien* of *Thomond*, and *Mac Muorrogh* of *Lynster*, who were enfranchised by special Charters)

were

were admitted to the benefit and protection of the Laws of *England*; for in them onely the *English* Laws were published, and put in execution; and in them onely did the Itinerant Judges make their Circuits and Visitations of Justice, as namely in the Counties of *Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Typperary*, and not in the Countries possessed by the *Irish*, which contained at least two third parts of the Kingdom, and even in these Counties the said Laws stretcht no farther then the Lands of the *English* Colonies did extend; so that the *Irish* were not only disabled to bring any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the Law, as it was often adjudged no Felony, to kill a meer *Irish* man in time of Peace; from whence it came to pass, that in all the Parliament Rolls which are extant, from the 40th year of *Edward the Third*, when the Statutes of *Kilkenny* were enacted, till the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, we find the

## The present State

the degenerate and disobedient *English* called Rebels; but the *Irish* which were not in the Kings Peace, are called Enemies: Whereby it is manifest, that such as had the Government of *Ireland*, under the Crown of *England*, did intend to maintain a perpetual Separation and Enmity between the *English* and the *Irish*, pretending that the *English* should in the end be able to root out the *Irish*, which the *English* not being able to effect, caused a perpetual War between both Nations, which continued four hundred and odd years, and might have continued to the worlds end, if in the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the *Irish* had not been broken and Conquered by the Sword; and since the beginning of King *James* his Reign had not been protected and governed by the Law.

Contrary  
to the pra-  
ctice of the  
Romans,  
and others,  
Ec. who  
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cated their  
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This was contrary to the practice of the *Roman* State, which Conquered so many barbarous and civil Nations, and therefore knowing by experience the best and readiest way of making a perfect and ab-

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solute Conquest, refused not to communicate their Laws to the rude and barbarous people, whom they had conquered; neither did they ever put them out of their Protection, after they had once submitted themselves; but rather (the better to assure their conquest) by all the means imaginable they could, allured them to Civility, and Learning, whereof the antient *Britains* were a famous instance. This was also against the practise *William* the Conqueror used, who governed both the *Normans* and the *English* under one Law; And against the prudent course that hath been observed in the reducing of *Wales*, partly perform'd by King *Edward* the First, and altogether finished by King *Henry* the Eighth, by dividing the whole Countrey into Shires and Circuits, and establishing a Common-wealth amongst them; according to the *English* Government; by means whereof, that entire Countrey was in a short time so securely settled in Peace and Obedience, and hath attained to that

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civility of manners, and plenty of all things, as now we find it not inferiour to the best parts of *England*.

That the  
over great  
proportions  
of Land  
granted to  
the first  
Conquerors  
of Ireland  
occasioned  
great in-  
convenien-  
cies.

The next Error in the Civil Policy which hindered the perfection of the Conquest of *Ireland*, did consist in the distribution of the Lands and Possessions which were won and conquered from the *Irish*. For the Scopes of Land which were granted to the first Adventurers, were too large, and the Liberties and Royalties, which they obtained therein, were too great for Subjects; though it stood with reason, that they should be liberally rewarded out of the fruits of their own labours, since they managed the War upon their own account, and received no pay from the Crown of *England*, whereupon ensued divers inconveniencies, that gave great impediment to the Conquest: for first, *Earl Strongbow* was entituled to the whole Kingdom of *Lynster*, partly by Invasion, and partly by Marriage; albeit he surrendered the same entirely to King

*Henry*



*Henry* the Second his Sovereign; *The manner how*  
 for that with his License he came *Ireland*  
 over, and with the aid of his Sub- *was divided a-*  
 jects, he had gained that great In- *mongst the*  
 heritance; yet did the King regrant *first Eng-*  
 back again to him and his Heirs *lish Con-*  
 all that Province, reserving only the *querors.*  
 City of *Dublin*, and the Cantreds  
 next adjoyning, with the *Maritime*  
 Towns, and principal Forts and  
 Castles. Next, the same King  
 granted to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, and  
*Miles Cogan*, the whole Kingdom  
 of *Corke* from *Lisnore* to the Sea.  
 To *Philip le Bruce*, he gave the  
 whole Kingdome of *Lymrick*, with  
 the Donation of Bishopricks and  
 Abbies (except the City and one  
 Cantred of Land adjoyning.) To  
 Sir *Hugh de Lacy* all *Meath*. To  
 Sir *John de Courcy*, all *Ulster*. To  
*William Bourke Fitz-Adelin*, the  
 greatest part of *Connaght*. In like  
 manner, Sir *Thomas de Clare* obtain-  
 ed a grant of all *Thomond*; and *O-*  
*sbo de Grandison* of all *Tipperary*;  
 and *Robert le Poor*, of the Territo-  
 ry of *Waterford* (the City it self,  
 and the Cantred of the *Oassmen* on-  
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ly excepted.) And thus was all *Ireland* Cantonized among ten Persons of the *English* Nation. And though they had not gained the Possession of one third part of the whole Kingdom; yet in Title they were owners and Lords of all: so as nothing was left to be granted to the Natives, whose petty Kings and Great ones, our great *English* Lords could not endure they should Reign in *Ireland*; nay, they were come that height, by these great Possessions, that they could not brook that the Crown of *England* it self should have any Jurisdiction or Power over them. For many of these Lords, to whom our Kings had granted these petty Kingdoms; did by Vertue and Colour of these Grants, claim and exercise *Jura Regalia* within their Territories; in so much, as there were no less than eight Counties *Palatines* in *Ireland* at one time.

The first  
English  
Conquerors  
exercise  
Regal  
Power.

These absolute *Palatines* made Barons and Knights, did exercise high Justice in all points within their Territories, erected Courts for

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for Criminal and Civil Causes, and  
 for their own Revenues; in the  
 same form as the Kings Courts  
 were established at *Dublin*; made  
 their own Judges, Seneschalls,  
 Sheriffs, Coroners, and Escheators;  
 so as the Kings Writ did not run in  
 those Counties (which took up more  
 then two parts of the *English* Colo-  
 nies) but onely in Church Lands  
 lying within the same, which were  
 called the Cross, wherein the King  
 made a Sheriff: And so in each of  
 these Counties Palatines, there were  
 two Sheriffs; one of the Liberty,  
 and another of the Cross: whereby  
 is manifest, how much the Kings  
 jurisdiction was restrained, and the  
 power of these Lords enlarged by  
 these high Priviledges. Again,  
 these great undertakers were not  
 bound to any form of Plantation, but  
 was left to their discretion and  
 measure. And although they build-  
 Castles, and made Freeholders,  
 yet were there no tenures or servi-  
 ces reserved to the Crown, but the  
 Lords drew all the respect and de-  
 pendency of the common people  
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unto themselves. Now let us see what inconveniences did arise by these large and ample Grants of Lands and Liberties, to the first Adventurers in the Conquest.

*The great inconveniences that ensued the Grant of whole Provinces and petit Kingdoms to the first English Conquerors of Ireland.*

Without doubt by these Grants of whole Provinces and petty Kingdoms, these few *English* Lords pretended to be Proprietors of all the Land, so as their was no possibility left of settling the Natives in their Possessions, and by consequence the Conquest became impossible, without the utter extirpation of all the *Irish*; which these *English* Lords were not able to perform, nor perhaps willing if they had ability. Notwithstanding, because they did still hope to become Lords of those Lands which were possessed by the *Irish*, whereunto they pretended Title, by their large Grants; And because they did fear, that if the *Irish* were received into the Kings protection, and made Liege-men, and Free Subjects; the State of *England* would establish them in their possessions by Grants from the Crown; reduce their Countries in-

to Counties, ennoble some of them, and enfranchise all; and make them amensurable to the Law, which would have abridged, and cut off a great part of that greatness which they had promised unto themselves: They therefore perswaded the King of *England*, that it was unfit to communicate the Laws of *England* unto them; and that it was the best policy to hold them as Aliens and Enemies, and to prosecute them with a continual War; whereby they obtained another Royal Prerogative and Power: Which was, to make War and Peace at their Pleasure, in every part of the Kingdom, which gave them an absolute command over the Bodies, Lands and Goods of the *English* Subjects there. And besides the *Irish* inhabiting the Lands fully Conquered, and reduced, being in the condition of Slaves and Villains, did render a greater Profit and Revenue, than if they had been the Kings Free Subjects, and therefore for these two causes last expressed, they were not willing to root out all the *Irish*.

Again, Those large Scopes of Land, and great Liberties, with absolute Power to make War and Peace, did raise the *English* Lords to that height of Pride and Ambition, as they could not endure one another, but grew to a mortal War and Dissention amongst themselves; insomuch, that whole Towns and Countries have often times been destroyed by their Contentions, which brought forth divers mischiefs that did not onely disable the *English* to finish the Conquest of all *Ireland*, but did endanger the loss of what was already gained; And of Conquerors, made themselves Slaves to that Nation, which they did intend to Conquer. For, whensoever one *English* Lord had vanquished another, the *Irish* waited, and took the opportunity, and fell upon that Country which had received the blow; and so daily recovered some part of the Lands, which were possessed by the *English* Colonies.

Besides, The *English* Lords to strengthen their Parties, did Ally themselves with the *Irish*, and drew them



them in to dwell amongst them, and gave their Children to be fostered by them; and having no other means to pay or reward them, suffered them to take Coyn and Livery, upon the *English* Free-holder; which oppression was so intollerable, as that the better sort were enforced to quit their Free-holds, and fly into *England*; and never returned, though many Laws were made in both Realms, to remand them back again: and the rest which remained, became degenerate and meer *Irish*, as is before declared. And the *English* Lords finding the *Irish* Exactions to be more profitable then the *English* Rents and Services, and loving the *Irish* tyranny which was tyed to no Rules of Law or Honor, better than a just and lawful Seigniorie, did reject and cast off the *English* Law and Government, received the *Irish* Laws and Customes, took (as aforesaid) *Irish* Sir-names, refused to come to the Parliaments which were summoned by the King of *Englands* Authority, and scorned to obey the *English*

Knights which were sent to command and govern this Kingdome.

*Why the  
Kings of  
England  
Granted  
such large  
Proportions  
of Land to  
the first  
Conquerors  
of Ireland.*

But this ought withal to be taken into consideration; that as these Grants of little Kingdomes, and great Royalties, to a few private persons, did produce the mischiefs spoken of before: So the true cause of making those Grants, did proceed from this; That the Kings of *England* being otherwise imployed, and diverted, did not make the Conquest of *Ireland* their own work, and undertook it not royally at their own charge; but as it was first begun by particular Adventurers, so they left the prosecution thereof to them, and other Adventurers, who came to seek their Fortunes in *Ireland*; wherein if they could prevail, they thought it in Reason and Honor, they could do no less than make them Proprietors of such Scopes of Land as they could Conquer, People and Plant at their own charge, reserving only the Sovereign Lordship to the Crown of *England*: But if the Lyon had gone to hunt himself, the shares of the inferi-

inferiour Beasts had not been so great. If the Invasion had been made by an Army, transmitted, furnished, and supplied onely at the Kings charges, and wholly paid with the Kings Treasure, as the Armies of *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James* were, as the Conquest had been sooner atchieved, so the Servitors had been contented with lesser proportions.

For when *Scipio*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and other Generals of the *Roman* Armies, as Subjects and Servants of that State, and with the Publick Charge, had Conquered many Kingdomes and Commonwealths, we find them rewarded with Honorable Offices and Triumphs at their return; and not made Lords and Proprietors of whole Provinces and Kingdomes, which they had subdued to the Empire of *Rome*. Likewise, when the Duke of *Normandy* had Conquered *England*, which he made his own work, and perform'd it in his own person, he distributed fundry Lordships and Mannors unto his Follow-

ers, but gave not away whole Shires and Countries in Demesne to any of his Servitors, whom he most desired to advance.

Again, From the time of the *Norman* Conquest, till the Reign of King *Edward* the First, many of our *English* Lords made War upon the *Welch-men*, at their own charge; the Lands which they gained, they held to their own use, were called Lords Marchers, and had Royal Liberties within their Lordships. Howbeit these particular Adventurers could never make a Conquest of *Wales*.

But when King *Edward* the First came in person with his Army thither, kept his Residence and Court there; made the reducing of *Wales* an enterprize of his own; he finished that work in a Year or two, whereof the Lords Marchers had not perform'd a third part, with their continual Bordering War, for two hundred Years. And withall we may observe, that though this King had now the Dominion of *Wales*, in *jure proprietatis*, (as the Statute of *Rutland* affirmeth) which  
be-

before was subject unto him, but in *jure feodali* : And though he had lost divers principal Knights and Noble men in that War, yet did he not reward his Servitors with whole Countries or Counties, but with particular Mannors and Lordships : As to *Henry Lacie*, Earl of *Lincoln*, he gave the Lordship of *Denbigh* ; and to *Reighnold Gray*, the Lordship of *Ruthen*, and so to others.

If the like course had been used in the winning and distributing of the Lands of *Ireland*, that Island had been fully conquered before the Continent of *Wales* had been reduced. But the truth is, when private men attempt the Conquest of Countries at their own charge, commonly their enterprizes do perish without success : as when in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* Sir *Thomas Smith* undertook to recover the *Ardes* : and *Chatterton*, to reconquer the *Fues*, and *Orier*. The one lost his Son ; and the other himself ; and both their Adventures came to nothing. And as for the Crown of *England*, it hath had the like For-

tune in the Conquest of this Land, as some Purchasers have ; who desire to buy Land at too easie a Rate : they find those cheap Purchasers so full of trouble, as they spend twice as much as the Land is worth, before they get the quiet possession thereof.

*That the  
first Eng-  
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venturers  
in Ireland,  
were decei-  
ved in the  
choice of the  
fittest places  
to settle  
their Plan-  
tations in*

And as the best policy was not observed in the distribution of the Conquered Lands ; so as I conceive, that the first Adventurers intending to make a full Conquest of the *Irish*, were deceived in the choice of the fittest places for their Plantation. For they sate down, and erected their Castles and Habitations in the Plains, and open Countries; where they found most fruitful and profitable Lands, and turned the *Irish* into the Woods and Mountains : Which as they were proper places for Out-laws and Thieves, so were they their Natural Castles and Fortifications ; thither they drave their preys and stealths; there they lurkt, and lay in wait to do mischief. These fast places they kept unknown, by making the ways and entries there-  
unto

unto impassable ; there they kept their Creaghts or Herds of Cattle, living by the Milk of the Cow, without Husbandry or Tillage ; there they encreased and multiplied unto infinite numbers by promiscuous generation among themselves ; there they made their Assemblies, and Conspiracies without discovery : But they discovered the weakness of the *English* dwelling in the open plains, and thereupon made their Sallies and Retreats with great advantage ; Whereas on the other side, if the *English* had builded their Castles and Towns in those places of fastness, and had driven the *Irish* into the plains and open Countries, where they might have had an eye and observation upon them, the *Irish* had been easily kept in order, and in short time reclaimed from their wildness ; There they would have used Tillage, dwelt together in Townships, learned Mechanical Arts and Sciences. The Woods had been wasted with the *English* Habitations, as they were afterwards about the Forts of *Mariborough*, and  
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*Philipston*, which were built in the fast places in *Leinster*, and the ways and passages throughout *Ireland*; would have been as clear and open, as they are in *England*, (or *Ireland*) at this day.

Having thus far recounted the manifold defects, mischiefs and impediments that both in the Civil and Martial Affairs so long obstructed the full Conquest of *Ireland*, I should have here also briefly recited the many good Laws and Ordinances made and enacted from time to time, by the Kings of *England* and the Parliaments in *Ireland*, for redressing the said mischiefs and inconveniences; but all fair endeavours and purposes of this kind proving abortive and ineffectual, for want of the Sovereign Sword, as well as the Royal Scepter to put the same in execution; I shall now only set forth the Nature of the *Irish* Customs, with the evil Consequences thereof; and then proceed to a conclusion of this discourse, containing those Affairs that shall appear most remarkable in the reigns of



of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charles* the First, and especially in the Reign of our present Gracious Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, in order to the Reformation and good Government of this Realm.

• If we consider the Nature of the *Irish* Customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them, must of necessity be Rebels to all good Government, destroy the Commonwealth wherein they live, and bring Barbarism and Desolation upon the richest and most fruitful Land of the World. For whereas by the just and honorable Law of *England*, and by the Laws of all other well governed Kingdoms and Commonwealths, *Murder, Manslaughter, Rape, Robbery and Theft*, are punished with Death; By the *Irish* Custom, or *Brehen* Law, the highest of these offences was punished only with Fine, which they called an *Erick*. Therefore, when Sir *William Fitz-Williams* (being Lord Deputy) told *Magnire* that he was to send a Sheriff into *Farmannagh*, being

*The Nature of the Irish Customs destructive to all good Government.*

ing lately before made a County; your Sheriff (said *Maguire*) shall be welcome to me, but let me know his *Erick*, or the price of his head before hand, that if my people cut it off, I may cut the *Erick* upon the Country. As for Oppression, Extortion, and other trespasses, the weaker had never any remedy against the stronger: whereby it came to pass, that no man could enjoy his Life, his Wife, his Lands or Goods in safety; if a mightier man then himself had an appetite to take the same from him. Wherein they were little better then *Cannibals*, who do hunt one another, and he that hath most strength and swiftness, doth eat and devour all his followers.

Again, In *England* and all well ordered Common-wealths, men have certain Estates in their Lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from Father to Son, which doth give them an encouragement to Build, and Plant, and to improve their Lands, and to make them better for their Posterities.

ties. But by the *Irish* Custome of *Tanistry*, the Chieftains of every Country, and the Chief of every Sept, had no longer Estate then for life in their Chiefteries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these Chiefteries, though they had some portions of Land allotted to them, did consist chiefly in Cuttings and Cosheries, and other *Irish* Exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the People at their pleasure. And when their Chieftains were dead, their Sons or next Heirs did not succeed them, but their Tanists, who were Elective, and purchased their Elections by strong hand; And by the *Irish* Custom of *Gavelkind*, the inferiour Tennanties were partible amongst all the Males of the Sept, both Bastards and Legitimate: and after partition made, if any one of the Sept had died his portion was not divided among his Sons, but the Chief of the Sept made a new partition of all the Lands belonging to that Sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity.

These

*That the  
Irish Cu-  
stoms of  
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made all  
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certain.*

These two *Irish* Customs made all their Possessions uncertain, being shuffled, changed, and removed so often from one to another, by new Elections, and partitions; which uncertainty of Estates hath been the true cause of such Desolations and Barbarismes in this Land, as the like was never seen in any Country, that professes the name of Christ. For, though the *Irish* be a Nation of great Antiquity, and wanted neither Wit nor Valour; and though they had received the Christian Faith, above twelve hundred years since, and were Lovers of Musick and Poetry, and all kind of Learning, and possessed a Land abounding with all things necessary for the Civil life of man; yet (which is strange to be related) they did never build any houses of Brick or Stone (some few poor Religious Houses excepted) before the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, though they were Lords of this Island for many hundred years before, and since the Conquest attempted by the *English*: Albeit, when they saw

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as Build Castles upon their Borders, they did onely in imitation of us, erect some few piles for the Captains of the Country : yet may it be confidently affirm'd that never any particular person, either before or since, did build any Stone or Brick House for his private Habitation ; but such as have lately obtained Estates, according to the course of the Law of *England*. Neither did any of them in all this time, plant any Gardens or Orchards , Inclose or improve their Lands, live together in settled Villages, or Towns, nor made any provision for Posterity ; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable Customs, which made their Estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions.

For, who would plant, improve, *And there-*  
or build upon that Land , which *fore un-*  
a stranger whom he knew not should *willing to*  
possesse after his death ? For that *improve.*  
(as *Solomon* noteth) is one of the  
strangest vanities under the sun.  
And this was the true reason, why  
*Ulster,*

*Ulster*, and all the *Irish* Countries were found so wast and desolate about the beginning of King *James's* Reign; and so would have continued to the worlds end, if these Customs were not abolished by the Law of *England*.

The ill consequences of *Gavelkind* Custom in Ireland.

Again, That *Irish* Custome of *Gavelkind*, did breed another mischief; for thereby, every man being born to Land, as well Bastard as Legitimate, they all held themselves to be Gentlemen. And though their Portions were never so small, and themselves never so poor, (for *Gavelkind* must needs in the end make a poor Gentility) yet did they scorn to descend to Husbandry or Merchandize, or to learn any Mechanical Art or Science. And this is the true cause, why there were never any Corporate Towns erected in the *Irish* Countries.

The Maritime Towns in Ireland first built by the *Ost-men* or

As for the Maritime Cities and Towns, most certain it is, that they were Built and Peopled by the *Ost-men*, or *Easterlings*: for the Natives of *Ireland* never performed so good a work, as to build a City. Besides, these

these poor Gentlemen were so affected unto their small portions of Land, as they rather chose to live at home by Theft, Extortion, and Conspiring, then to seek any better fortunes abroad: which encreased their Septs or Sir-names into such numbers, as there are not to be found in any Kingdome of *Europe* so many Gentlemen of one Blood, Family, and Sir-name, as there were of late of the *O Neals* in *Ulster*; of the *Bourkes* in *Cannaght*; of the *Geraldines* and *Butlers* in *Munster* and *Leinster*. And the like may be said of inferiour Bloods and Families; whereby it came to pass in times of trouble and dissention, that they made great parties and factions adhering to one another with much constancy; because they were tyed together, *Vinculo Sanguinis*; whereas Rebels and Malefactors which are tyed to their Leaders by no bond, either of Duty or Blood, do more easily break and fall off one from another. And besides, their Co-habitation in one Territory or Country, gave them opportunity  
sad.

suddenly to assemble, and conspire, and rise in Multitudes against the Crown. And even till of late in the time of Peace, there was found this inconvenience, that there could hardly be an indifferent trial had between the King, and the Subject, or between party and party, by reason of this general Kindred and Consanguinity.

*The Irish  
by their  
frequent  
Rebellions  
became  
fully Con-  
quered by  
Queen E-  
lizabeth.*

And now are we arrived at that remarkable time (being about the latter end of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign) wherein was laid the foundation of that eternal peace of *Ireland*, so solidly discoursed of, and stoutly fought for in her time; and soon after very far proceeded in, by King *James* of blessed memory; But fully perfected (according to all humane appearance) by our Gracious Sovereign King *Charles* the Second: for though *Queen Elizabeth* through the whole course of her Reign studied by all the ways and means possible she could, to retain the *Irish* Nation in their dutiful obedience to her; Howbeit, by their frequent Rebellions (being often excited there-



thereunto by the *Pope*, and the King of *Spain*) and especially by that last and general one, so diligently managed by that notorious and ungrateful Rebel *Tyrone* and his Adherents; they so far provoked her, as that by imploying (as it were) her whole care and strength for the suppression thereof, she most happily brought it to an end (by the utter overthrow of the said *Tyrone*, and the *Spanish* Forces at the Siege of *Kingsale*) under the prudent conduct of the Lord *Montjoy*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, in the eighth year after it brake forth; which Rebellion had been begun upon private grudges, intermixed with ambition, cherished by contempt and parsimony in *England*, spread over all *Ireland*, by pretext of restoring the *Romish Religion*, and hope of unbridled licentiousness and impunity; Strengthened by the light credulity of some, and secret favour of others which were of great authority, as also by one or two prosperous successes, *Spanish* Pentions, *Spanish* Forces, and *Papal* Indulgences; and  
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protected by the wicked emulations of the *English*, by a by-partite Government, the covetousness of the old Soldiers, the cunning practices of *Tyrone*, by his dissembled truces and submissions, by the protections of Malefactors bought for money, the most cumberfom difficulty of places, and by the desperate kind of men, safer in the nimbleness of their heels, than stableness in Battle.

*The waies propounded in Q. Elizabeths Reigne, to establish a perpetual peace in Ireland.*

This War proving thus difficult and very tedious, and like to have been also very dangerous, in case *Tyrone* and the *Spaniards* had prevailed at *Kingsale*, caused many wise and worthy persons of the *English* party, to advise of the best ways that could be thought on, how the *Irish*, (after the suppression of this Rebellion) might be assuredly contained in their future Obedience to the Crown of *England*, and not be subject to those frequent relapses, whereof the *English* and the honefter sort of *Irish*, had too often had a sad experience; in the conclusion of which debate, it was generally

nerally agreed upon, that the fittest remedy and expedient to prevent all those future mischiefs and inconveniences, would be (upon the subduing of *Tyrone*, and his Confederates) to transplant the Rebels of *Ulster* into *Leinster*, and those of *Leinster* into *Ulster*, and to give all their Lands to such *English* as should be invited to come out of *England* to Plant the same, with such Estates as should be thought meet, and for such rents, as in the whole would maintain four thousand five hundred Soldiers, and those disposed of (as now they are) in very advantageous, and well fortified Garrisons, which might prove an exceeding good thing both to her Highness, to have so many old Soldiers alwaies ready at a call, to what purpose soever she please to imploy them, and also to have that Land thereby so strengthened, that it should neither fear any forreign Invasion nor practice, which the *Irish* should ever attempt, but should keep them under in continual awe, and firm obedience. This was therefore

fore a notorious Error, and proved (as you have heard) of sad consequence to the first *English* Adventurers, and Conquerers of this Kingdome, not to have ascertained (by way of Chiefry to be raised yearly out of the Conquered Lands) a competent maintenance for the perpetual continuing of five or six thousand Soldiers in pay, which should have been disposed of in several strong Garrisons through all *Ireland* as aforesaid; then would have followed, that the Laws of *England* might have been as freely communicated to the *Irish*, as well as to the *English* Colonies, without any need of turning the *Irish* into Desarts and Mountains, still to continue them in their Barbarisme, but rather to have made use of them (as the present *English* Planters do) for their Tenants and Labourers, to the great benefit and security of the Publick, as well as the Private advantage of the *English* in *Ireland*. And this was the course which the *Romans* observed in the Conquest of *England*, for they planted some of their

their Legions in all places convenient, the which they caused the COUNTRY to maintain, by cutting upon every portion of Land a reasonable rent, which they called *Romescot*, the which might not surcharge the Tenant or Free-holder, and might defray the pay of the Garrisons. And this hath been alwaies observed by all Princes in all Countries to them newly subdued, to set Garrisons amongst them, to keep them in duty, whose burthen they made them to bear, and the want of this Ordinance in the first Conquest of *Ireland*, by *Henry* the Second, was the cause of the so short decay of that Government, and the quick recovery again of the *Irish*, therefore by all means this was to be provided for; And this was thought to be worthy of blame, that in the Planting of *Munster* (after the suppression of the Earl of *Desmond's* Rebellion *Anno* 1580.) that no care was had of this Ordinance, nor any strength of Garrison provided for, by a certain allowance out of all the forfeited Lands, but only

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## The present State

the present profit looked into, and the safe continuance thereof for ever thereafter neglected.

Under every of those *English* men, were to be placed some of those *Irish*, to be Tenants for a certain Rent, according to the quantity of such Land as every man should have allotted to him, and should be able to Weild, wherein this special regard was to be had, that in no place under any Landlord, there should be many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered far abroad through all the Country: for that was the evil which was then found in *Ireland*, that the *Irish* dwelt together by their Septs, and several Nations, so as they might practice, or conspire what they pleased; whereas, if there had been *English* well placed amongst them, they should not have been able once to stir or murmur, but that it should be known, and they shortned according to their demerits.

But King *James* being swayed by milder Councils, (though *Tyrone* and all his Adherents had absolutely submitted themselves, both as to life and estate to be at his Majesties pleasure) did by a General Act of State, called *The Act of Oblivion*, published by Proclamation under the great Seal, remit, and utterly extinguish all offences against the Crown, and all particular Trespasses between Subject and Subject, done at any time before his Majesties Reign, to all such as would come into the Justice of the Assize by a certain day, and claim the benefit of this Act. And by the same Proclamation, all the *Irishry* (who for the most part, in former times, were left under the tyranny of their Lords and Chieftains, and had no defence or Justice from the Crown) were received into his Majesties immediate protection. The Publick Peace being thus established, the State proceeded next to establish the Publick Justice in every part of the Realm, by dividing all *Ireland* into Shires, and erecting Circuits in every Province,

*How far*  
*K. James*  
*proceeded*  
*in the Re-*  
*formation*  
*and settle-*  
*ment of*  
*Ireland.*

and Governing all things therein, according to the Laws of *England*; But being it was impossible to make a Common-wealth in *Ireland*, without performing another service, which was the settling of all the Estates and Possessions, as well of *Irish* as *English*, throughout the Kingdom. Therefore, whereas there was (as you heard) but one Freeholder in a whole Country, which was the Lord himself, the rest holding in Villenage, and being subject to the Lords immeasurable Taxations; whereby they had no encouragement to Build or Plant: Now the Lords Estate was divided into two parts, that which he held in Domain to himself, which was still left unto him, and that which was in the hands of the Tenants, who had Estates made in their possessions, according to the Common Law of *England*, paying instead of uncertain *Irish* Impositions, certain *English* Rents: whereby the people have since set their minds upon repairing their Houses, and Manuring their Lands, to the great increase of



of the Private and Publick Revenues; These proceedings bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued for the space of about forty years, the calmest and most universal Peace that ever was seen in *Ireland*.

But the foundation of this so long for wished, and most delectable Peace, was not so deeply laid, but that it received a shake by the first storm that threatned *England*; for being engaged in a War with *France* and *Spain*, about the beginning of his Majesties Reign King *Charles* the First, and having therefore occasion to send some additional Forces into *Ireland*, for the better assuring the Peace thereof in such a doubtful time of trouble; A proposition was made by the then Lord Deputy *Falkland*, to the chief of the *Irish* Nation, for the contributing of a competent sum of Money, towards the maintenance of those Forces to be established by way of a standing Army in *Ireland*; To which they would not condescend without a Toleration of Religion

*The Foundation of that settlement shakken Anno 1627. by the Irish refusing to contribute towards the pay of a standing Army in Ireland.*

first obtained, and then they would willingly maintain five hundred horse, and five thousand foot, wherein the Protestants must have borne a share also; But the Protestants not approving thereof; The Lord Archbishop *Usher*, then Lord Primate of *Ireland*, was desired by the said Lord Deputy (at a great Assembly, both of *Irish* and *English*, met at his Majesties Castle at *Dublin* the last of *April*, Anno 1627) to press the *Irish* (by very strong Arguments) to a condescension of the said proposition; where amongst many other most excellent ones then made use of by his Lordship to induce them thereunto; He declared that the resolution of those Gentlemen in denying to contribute unto the supplying of the Army, sent thither for their defence, did put him in mind of the Philosophers Observation; That such as have respect to a few things, are easily misled; the present pressure which they sustained by the imposition of Souldiers, and the desire they had to be eas'd of that burthen, did so wholly possess their minds, that

that they had onely an eye to the freeing of themselves from that incumbrance, without looking at all to the Desolations that were like to come upon them by a long and heavy War, which the having of an Army in a readines, might be a means to have prevented; The lamentable effects (said he) of our last Wars in this Kingdome doth yet freely stick in our memories: Neither can we so soon forget the depopulation of our Land, when besides the combustions of War, the extremity of famine grew so great that the very Women in some places by the way side, have surprized the men that rod by, to feed themselves with the flesh of the Horse of the Rider: and that now again (said he) here is a storm towards wheresoever it will light, every wise man will easily foresee, which if we be not careful to meet with in time, our State may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of had I wist.

Proceeding farther, he recounted to them, how that in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth, the Earl

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Ireland offered to Sale to the French King, in days of K. Henry the Eighth. of *Desmond* had made an offer of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the French King, ( the Instrument whereof remains yet upon Record in the Court of *Paris* ) and that the Bishop of *Rome* afterwards transfer'd the Title of all our Kingdoms unto *Charles* the Fifth; which new Grants were confirmed unto his Son *Philip*, in the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, with a resolution to settle the Crown of *Ireland* upon the *Spanish Infanta* : Which Donations of the Popes, howsoever they were in themselves of no value, yet would they serve for a fair colour to a Potent Pretender, who is able to supply, by the power of the Sword, whatsoever therein may be thought defective. Whereunto, might be added; that, of late in *Spain*, at the very same time, when the Treaty of the Match was in hand ; there was a Book published with great approbation there, by one of *Irish Birth*, *Philip O Sullivan* : wherein the *Spaniard* is taught ; that the ready way to establish his Monarchy ( for that is the only thing he mainly aimeth at, and

and is plainly there confessed ) is first to set upon *Ireland*, which being quickly obtained; the Conquest of *Scotland*, of *England* next, then of the *Low-Countries*, is foretold, with great facility will follow after.

Neither have we more cause <sup>A distinction of the Irish.</sup> (saith my Lord) in this regard, to be afraid of a foreign Invasion, than to be jealous of a Domestick Rebellion. Where, least I be mistaken, as your Lordships have been lately, I must of necessity put a difference betwixt the Inhabitants of this Nation: some of them are descended of the Race of the antient *English*; or otherwise hold their Estates from the Crown, and have Possessions of their own to stick to, who easily may be trusted against a foreign Invader, although they differ from the State in matter of Religion: for proof of which fidelity in this kind (he saith) he need go no farther, than the late Wars in the time of the Earl of *Tyrone*; wherein they were assaulted with as powerful Temptations, to move them from their Loyalty, as possibly

ly could be afterwards presented unto them; for at that time, not only the King of *Spain* did confederate himself with the Rebels, and landed his Forces at *Kingsale* for their assistance: but the Bishop of *Rome* also, with his *Breves* and *Bulls* solicited the Nobility, and Gentry of *Ireland* to Revolt from their Obedience to the Queen, declaring that the *English* did fight against the *Catholick* Religion, and ought to be opugned as much as the *Turks*; importing the same favours, to such as should set upon them, as he doth unto such as fight against the *Turks*; and finally, promising unto them, that the God of Peace would tread down their Enemies under their feet speedily. And yet for all the Popes promises and threatnings, which were also seconded by a Declaration of the Divines of *Salamanca* and *Valledolid*, not only the Lords and Gentlemen, did constantly continue their Allegiance to the Queen, but were also encouraged so to do by the Priests of the *Pale*, that were of Popish Profession:

sion: who were therefore vehemently taxed by the Traytor *Suelleuan*, for exhorting them to follow the Queens side; which he is pleased to term *Insanam & venenosam Doctrinam, & tartareum Dogma*, a mad and venomous Doctrine, and a hellish Opinion.

But besides these, there were a great number of *Irish*, who either bore a secret grudge against the *English*, planted among them; or having nothing at all to lose, upon the first occasion, are apt to joyn with any forraign Invader; for we have not used that pollicie in our Plantations that wise States have used in former times. They, when the settled new Colonies in any place, did commonly translate the antient Inhabitants to other dwellings. We have brought new Planters into the Land, (meaning those got by *Desmonds* Rebellion, and six Counties in *Ulster* by *Tyrone* and his Adherents departing into *Spain*) and have left the old Inhabitants to shift for themselves; who being strong in body, and daily increasing  
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in number, and seeing themselves deprived of their means and maintenance; which they and their Ancestors had formerly enjoyed, would undoubtedly be ready, when any occasion offered it self, to disturb our quiet; whether then (saith he) we cast our eyes abroad, or look at home, we see our danger is very great.

*The Romish Irish as well as the Protestant British Planters are in equal danger of a Common Enemy.*

Neither may you, my Lords, and Gentlemen, that differ from us in point of Religion, imagin that the Community of profession will exempt you more than us from the danger of a Common Enemy. Whatsoever you may expect from a foreigner, you may conjecture by the Answer which the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* gave in this case in 88. *That his Sword knew no difference between a Catholick and an Heretick, but that he came to make way for his Master:* and what kindness thy looked for from the Country-men that were to joyn with them, they might judge, as well by the carriage which they ordinarily used towards them, both in the Court and Colledges abroad;



as by the advice, not long since, presented by them unto the Council of Spain; wherein they would not have so much as the *Irish* Priests and Jesuits that are descended of *English* blood to be trusted, but would have you, and all yours to be accounted Enemies to the designs of *Spain*. In the Declaration published about the begining of the Insurrection of *James Fitz-Morris* in the South, the Rebels professed it was no part of their meaning to subvert *Honorable Anglorum solium*; their quarrel was only against the Person of *Queen Elizabeth* and her Government. But now the case is otherwise; the Translating of the Throne of the *English* to the Power of a Foreigner, is the thing that mainly is intended, and the re-establishing of the *Irish* in their Antient Possessions, which by the the Vallour of our Ancestors were gained from them. This (saith my Lord) you may assure your self, *Manet alta mente repositum*, and makes you more to be hated of them, than any other of the *English* Nation whatsoever. The dan-

danger therefore being thus common to us all, it stands us upon, to joyn our best helps for the avoiding of it.

*The Irish  
refuse to  
contribute  
towards a  
standing  
Army in  
Ireland,  
except they  
might first  
obtain a  
toleration  
of the Ro-  
mish Re-  
ligion.*

But all these strong arguments, with many more, could not prevail in the least with the *Irish* to contribute one peny, in answer to his Majesties desires on this so important an occasion, without they might first obtain a Toleration of their *Religion*; To which the Lord Primate told them, that the onely way was, to grant to his Majesty freely, what they would give, without all manner of conditions that might seem unequal unto any side; and to refer unto his own sacred breast, how far he would be pleased to extend or abridge his favours; of whose Lenity in forbearing the execution of the Statute (he said) the Recusants of *Ireland* had found such experience, that they could not expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that was demanded, then now already they did freely enjoy. The loss of which rare opportunity so seasonably offering it self to the *Irish*

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Nation, to express the height of their Loyalty and dutifulness to his Majesty, by a free and generous contribution upon so important occasion, they have now leasure enough to repent; for their forwardness manifested afterwards in levying of Forces, and contributing towards the maintainance of that Army designed for an Expedition against the *Scots*, may seem to proceed (as much if not more) from the prejudice the *Irish* had against that Nation, both upon the account of their Religion, and their daily accession in great Numbers out of *Scotland* to inhabit the *North* parts of *Ireland*, then any thing of a generous Loyalty that might move them then, more then formerly, thereunto; And as for what overtures, and offers of kindnesses were tendered by them to his Majesty, during the late unhappy Wars in *England*, was but to fish in troubled waters, with an expectation (after the Example of other disobedient Subjects) to extort from his Majesty (by reason of the disadvantages of the times) such unequal

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*That the Irish have cause to repent their not contributing towards a standing Army in Ireland.*

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Conditions, as they were out of all hopes to obtain from him in a Calmer season. Besides, they had the honour upon this occasion to have many of their Country men trained up to Military Discipline amongst the *English* Soldiery, which at last sorted not to the best, for that many of the *Irish* Soldiers and Commanders proved afterwards unhappily to be the very Ring leaders of that bloody Rebellion begun in *Ireland*, the 23<sup>d</sup> of *October*, *Anno*. 1641.

I have more largely insisted upon this of my Lord Primates Speech, then did well consist with my designed brevity; First, because it doth excellently set forth the General State of *Ireland*, both as touching points of Interest, and also transactions, since the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, down almost as far as the last *Irish* Rebellion, *Anno* 1641. Secondly, for that it justifies the necessity of maintaining a standing Army in *Ireland*, and the conveniency of the late settlement thereof, as very suitable to the whole scope, and subject of this discourse. Thirdly  
and

and lastly, because I find my Lord Primate a true Prophet by this his Speech, wherein he foresaw the storm that afterwards fell upon *Ireland*, in the year 1641. In which were most inhumanly massacred (by the outrageous carriage of the *Irish*) about a hundred and fifty thousand of the *Brittish* Planters, without the least provocation given by them to the *Irish*, to perpetrate so wicked and unparaleld Act of Barbarism. But the unhappy troubles that soon after followed in *England*, hindered the *English* from having an opportunity to be thoroughly revenged on the *Irish*, for their perfidiously massacred Country-men, (all *Ireland* as well as *England*, being in the mean time divided into several factions, the Popish *Irish* party of the supream Counsel against the Popes *Nuntio* and his party, afterwards some *English* and *Irish* for, and others against my Lord of *Ormonds* Peace, and at last some of the Protestant party, and of the *Irish* for the King, and some others of both parties for the Rump-Parliament,

The Eng-  
lish find  
an oppor-  
tunity to be  
thoroughly  
revenged  
on the Irish  
Anno,  
1649. &c.

ment, but all in a confusion) till the year 1649. At what time a considerable Army of *English* being transported into *Ireland*, where after two Disputes, the one at *Dublin*, and the other at *Tredagh*, the Royal party there (finding no probability of effecting any thing advantageous to his Majesties Service) joyning their forces with those newly landed out of *England*, so bore down the *Irish*, that in less space than three years, there was scarce an *Irish* man through all *Ireland*, that durst hold up his hand against them, and by a necessary severity put in practice for the soon finishing of the War, the whole Kingdome became upon a sudden so depopulated, that considering what vast numbers of people were destroyed by the Sword, Famine, and Plague, it is thought that in the conclusion of the said War, there was not left living the eighth part of all the *Irish* Nation; a just judgment of God inflicted on them for their notorious Barbarisme committed in their massacring the *English*.

The *Irishry* being thus broken, the  
*Irish*

*Irish* Proprietors of Lands within the Provinces of *Munster*, *Leinster*, and *Ulster*, were commanded by Proclamation, by a certain day upon pain of Death, to Transplant themselves into the Province of *Connaght*, and County of *Clare*, there to receive their proportions of Land according to their Qualifications, the which very speedily and submissively they performed accordingly. This Province of *Connaght*, and County of *Clare*, for their Natural and Artificial strength, are worth the noting, being altogether environed on the West and South-west part thereof by the vast Ocean, and almost encompassed on the East and North-East part thereof, in the whole length from North to South, for the space of one hundred and forty miles, or thereabouts, with the great, & for the most part impassable River *Shannon*, except by Boat or Bridge; And on all sides and parts of the said Province of *Connaght* and County of *Clare*, so beset with mighty strong Garrisons, as namely, *Limrick*, *Galloway*, *Athlone*, *James-Town*, the Forts of

*The Irish being broken, are Transplanted into the Provinces of Connaght and County of Clare*

of *Slego*, and *Belick* in the County of *Mayo*, with many other Garrisons of lesser moment, and yet of no small strength, that should the *Irish* at any time appear to stir in the least to oppose the Ruling power, it were no less then wilfully to expose themselves to immediate slaughter, and the mercy of the Sword.

Some part  
of the  
English  
Army dis-  
banded af-  
ter the Irish  
Transplan-  
tation.

This service being thus perform'd (together with the turning out about the same time by degrees all the *Po-pish Irish* Proprietors out of all the strong Towns and Cities in *Ireland*, and bringing in Protestant Planters as fast as they could to succeed them in their habitations) soon after followed the disbanding of certain Regiments of the Army, who received their respective proportions of Land for their Arrears, in the Provinces of *Lynster*, *Munster*, and *Ulster*, according to their Lots, upon every Acre whereof was imposed a certain Chiefry or *Quit-Rent*, to be yearly paid (after the expiration of five yeas) towards the defraying of the Publick charge of the Kingdome. The same me-  
thod



thod was soon after observed in satisfying the Arrears of the rest of the Army; And about the same time the Commissioners sat at *Athlone*, for determining the Qualifications of the *Irish*, who having there received their doom, immediately posted to *Lougrea*, to get their respective proportions of Land to be assigned to them, either in *Connaght* or the County of *Clare*; according to the tenor of their said determined Qualifications, from Commissioners sitting at *Lougrea* for that purpose; upon every Acre whereof a Quit-Rent was also imposed, to be paid yearly (after the expiration of five years as aforesaid) towards the Publick charge.

All these things being effected, and brought to this pass, within the compass of three years or thereabouts (this settlement having been first begun, *Anno 1653.*) there appeared within three or four years following such a strange alteration in the general Face and State of *Ireland* as might justly work much admiration in any sober man; who having

The English and Irish settled upon their respective proportions of Lands within the compass of three years. Whereupon followed a

strange al-  
teration in  
the general  
Face and  
State of  
Ireland.

The la-  
mentable  
condition  
all Ireland  
was redu-  
ced unto in  
the close of  
the War,  
An. 1652,  
1653.

ving travelled over a considerable part of this Realm in the years 1652 and 1653. should on one side but consider what a dreadful wast Country he had beheld; where, for ten, sometimes twenty or thirty Miles together, nay indeed almost all the Kingdom over (except about the *English* Garrisons) one should not behold, Man, Bird, or Beast appear; the very wild Fowls of the Aire, and the wild Beasts of the Field, being either dead, or having departed out of those Desolations, and thousands of *Irish* daily starving for want of Food, did in this extremity ordinarily feed on the Souldiers Horses, for which, no satisfaction was in any times received but with the loss of their lives: Nay, the Famine grew generally at last to that height, that the *Irish* did not only feed upon Horses, but upon dead Corps taken out of the Graves, (the *English* Army and all those that followed them, being in the mean time necessitated to be upon the matter wholly supplied out of *England* with all manner of Provisions, as well

well as Pay) I say, these things being seriously considered, could not choose but pierce a heart of Stone with grief and sorrow. But on the other side, what true hearted *Eng-<sup>Ireland</sup>lish man* (or indeed any Christian) *reviving a gain from its ruinous condition.* but would have rejoiced to see a considerable number of all sorts of people repairing securely from all parts of the Country, four times in the year, to receive Justice in the four Courts of Judicature at *Dublin*, according to the nature of their Complaints; To see the Judges twice a year ride through all the Circuits in *Ireland*, bravely attended, and entertained by the Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and many other persons of good quality, being all *English*, accompanied also with many *Irish*, both Gentry and Commons. To see, moreover, both *English* and *Irish* (together with the additional number of many thousands of *English*, *Welch* and *Scots*, with some *Dutch* that yearly Transported themselves hither to Plant) diligently applying themselves all over *Ireland* to Tillage, and breeding of all

of all sorts of Cattle ( with a competent proportion whereof, the whole Country became in a few years indifferently well Planted: though not with a sufficient number of people to inhabit the same, which are still wanting, and will be so yet for many years to come) repairing ( as fast as they could ) ruined Houses and Towns, and building of new ones, forwarding Merchandize and Commerce, and carefully promoting all other ways and means that tended to the repair of a ruined Common-wealth ; The *Irish* rejoycing though they had got but small Estates in lieu of great ones, after so terrible a storm ; But most of the *English* rejoycing much more, as having got far better Estates then

*The joy of ever they expected to inherit from the English their Ancestors.*

*in Ireland* But that which crowned the joy  
*crowned by* of all the *English* hearts in *Ireland*,  
*the happy* and as much dejected the Trans-  
*restaurati-* planted *Irish*, (who now expected  
*on of his* no less then to be generally restored  
*Majesty,* to their former Estates) was the  
*and the* happy Restauration of his Majesty  
*Irish de-* thereby.  
*jected*  
*thereby.* into

into *England*, wherein *Ireland* received no other change or alteration, but the Soldiers parting withal, or purchasing one third of all the Lands assigned them for their Arrears (which was cast into a common stock to satisfy Reprisals) that so they might get the rest confirm'd to them by his Majesty; And the disposing of all the Cities and Corporate Towns of *Ireland* (with the four Counties formerly reserved for the Publick) to the 49 men, many whereof notwithstanding they had performed excellent service in the late Wars of *Ireland*, yet received no satisfaction (till of late) for their Arrears, being formerly neglected therein, by reason of their noted loyalty to his Majesty; And the restoring of some Noble men and others of the *Irish* Nation to their former Estates, either by passing their Tryals at the Court of Claims at *Dublin*, or by meriting the same by their good services to his Majesty.

Now that I may draw to an end of this Discourse, and endeavour to prove what I formerly proposed;

E

That

That perpetual  
Peace is  
now esta-  
blished in  
Ireland  
by the late  
settlement  
thereof, be-  
ing the  
conclusion  
of this  
discourse.

The good  
consequen-  
ces by the  
late settle-  
ment of  
Ireland,  
By divid-  
ing the  
great Irish  
Lords and  
Gentry,  
from their  
numerous  
Train of  
Adherents  
and Te-  
nants,

That that Eternal Peace of *Ireland*, which was so solidly discoursed of, and stoutly fought for in *Queen Elizabeths* time; And very far proceeded in by *King James*; But is absolutely perfected (as I said according to all humane appearance) by the last settlement of *Ireland* confirmed by his gracious Majesty *King Charles* the Second, I desire the Reader to take these things into his consideration; As first, to observe, that by the Transplantation of the *Irish* Proprietors into the Province of *Connaght* and County of *Clare*, those *Irish* so Transplanted were not onely provided of a livelihood to support them; settled in such a place of security, as that they are wholly dis-enabled thereby to work any prejudice to the *English* Government; And separated (for the most part) from their numerous train of Tenants and Adherents, (who willingly staid behind them, becoming Tenants to the no small Advantage of the *English*, but to the great disadvantage of the *Irish* Lords, and Great ones of that Na-  
tion,

tion, who at all times chiefly relied upon these kind of people to promote their many *Rebellions* in *Ireland*) all which matters (though of very great importance) were notwithstanding wholly neglected or omitted by the *English* in all their former Settlements of this Realm; But also by this Transplantation of the said *Irish* Proprietors, the *English* being invested by way of Propriety and Tenancy in above three parts of four, of all the Lands in *Ireland*, there will hereafter be no need to fear as formerly (the *English* being now the greater Number in all their Publick Assemblies and Parliaments) that there shall be any farther obstruction given by the Popish *Irish* party, either to the making of good Laws, or putting the same in execution; or to the imposing of Money towards the payment of the Army, or any other publick charges; Or that the *English* shall henceforth fear to be any way degenerated by reason of their marrying and fostering with the *Irish*, having there people enough of their own Nation and

By increasing the Number of Protestant Justices of Peace and Parliament men, &c in Ireland.

Religion upon the place, as well to supply their continual wants therein, as also by those their dispersed, and growing Numerous habitations in most parts of the Kingdome, will prove a singular good means to civilize the *Irish* from their wonted Barbarism.

Secondly, That by having now *By the English having the possession (by way of habitation) of all the strong Towns and Cities of Ireland.* (which was otherwise formerly) all the strong Towns and Cities of *Ireland*, for the most part inhabited by Protestants, and being withall better fortified, as not only environed with strong Walls about them, but also mightily strengthened by well fortified Cittadels within them, to prevent surprisals, and bravely man'd with Men, Arms and Amunition to defend them, the whole Kingdome is thereby become better secured from future Rebellions, and consequently the *Brittish* Planters from having any more their throats cut by the *Irish*; It being observed formerly, that there was nothing did more stay and strengthen this realm, then the well fortified Corporate Towns, as by proof hath manifestly ap-



appeared in many Rebellions (till the last) in which when all the Countries have swerved, the Towns have stood fast, and yielded good relief to the *English* Soldiers in all occasions of service; The want of which supply, by the Revolt of most of the Corporate Towns of this Kingdom, *Anno 1643*; First occasioned the inhumane slaughter of the greatest part of the *Brittish* Planters there, who in their extremity sought the protection of those Towns but could not obtain it; Secondly, the continuance of the War so long; And last of all, the universal desolation of the Country, and almost a total extirpation of the whole *Irish* Nation out of Ireland.

Thirdly, and lastly, that by the late increase of his Majesties standing Revenue in Ireland, beyond all former Examples; As namely by the Imposition of Quit-Rents upon all the Lands of the Adventurers, Soldiers, and Transplanted *Irish*, Hearth Money. Excise, &c. which will be much more encreased beyond what it now is, by the Industry of

so great and universal a *Brittish* Plantation, as will inhabite this Country, when fully Planted; It may therefore be very well hoped that *Ireland* will in a short time become so well improved thereby, as to be sufficiently able not onely to maintain a good standing Army upon the account of its own proper Revenues, to make the *Irish* desist from doing themselves and the *English* harm, (the want whereof proved the ruine of all former Settlements there, since the first Conquest of it by the *English*) and discharge all other Publick Expences; But will also (ere long) afford yearly some competent supply of money towards the filling of the *English* Exchequer, by way of retaliation, in lieu of those many and great Summs sent at several times out of *England* for the support of this so long unhappy Kingdom; The premisses being therefore seriously and duly considered, I think I may safely conclude, that that Eternal Peace of *Ireland* so solidly discoursed of, and stoutly fought for in *Q. Elizabeths*

*best* time: And very far proceeded in by K. *James*; Is now absolutely established (as I said according to all humane appearance) by his gracious Majesty, our dread Sovereign K. *Charles* the Second, who long may he live in all earthly happiness; so that (I suppose) it may be now more truly said then ever, that *Ireland* which formerly served but as a Grave to bury our best men, and a Gulf to swallow our greatest Treasures, is brought by the prudence and policy of her late Kings and Lord Deputies, to be an Orderly Common-Wealth, civil in it self, and in time like to prove profitable to the Prince, and at all times a good additional strength to the *British* Empire.



## PART II.

### CHAP. I.

*Of Its Name, Climate, Dimensions, Division, Aire, Soil, Commodities, Money and Buildings.*

Name  
& Climate.



*Reland* was once called *Scotia*, from the *Scots* who inhabited there; and *Scotia major*, to distinguish it from *Scotland*, in the *Isle of Britain*; But the general Name hereof is *Ireland*; by the *Latins*, called *Hibernia*; by the *Greeks*, *Iernia*. And though some frame a wrested Etymology from *Iberus*, a *Spanish*

*Spanish* Captain; and some from *Irnaulph*, once a supposed Duke hereof; as others, *ab Hyberno aere*, the winter-like and inclement air: Yet probably, the Name proceeded from *Erin*, which signifieth, in their own language, a Western Land. And yet we must not pretermitt the *Egmon* given us by *Bochartus*, (more neer the name, than most of his other Fancies) who will have it called *Hibernia*, from *Iberne*, a *Phanician* word, signifying the farthest Habitation: there being no Country known amongst the Antients, which lay West of *Ireland*; and is seated under the eighth and tenth Climates; the longest day being 16 hours and a half in the Southern, and 17 hours 3 quarters in the Northern parts.

It is in length, 300. and in breadth, 120. Miles; in shape, some have *Dimen-* formed it like an Egge; and others compared it to the Fore-leg of a Boar, if the simile breed no offence, contains by computation, about fifteen millions of Acres; it is about halfe as big as *England* and *Wales*, and much about the same bigness as

*Scotland*, including the Islands thereunto belonging.

*Division.* It was divided antiently into five Provinces, each one a Kingdom in it self; that is to say, 1. *Leinster*, 2. *Meath*, 3. *Ulster*, 4. *Connaght*, and 5. *Mounster*: but of late time, the Province of *Meath* is reckoned for a member or part of *Leinster*; within these four Provinces ( according to the latest Division ) are contained 2328. Parishes.

*Leinster.* This Province, the Natives call *Leighingh*, the *Britains*, *Leir*; in *Latine*, *Lagenia*; in the antient lives of the Saints, *Lagen*; and in *English*, *Leinster*. It lyeth Eastward along the *Hibernicum* Sea: on *Connaght* side Westward, it is bounded with the River *Shanon*; the North with the Territory of *Louth*, and the South, with part of the Province of *Mounster*. The Country butteth upon *England*, as *Mounster* and *Connaght* do on *Spain*.

*Form.*

The Form thereof is Triangle, and sides not much unequal; from her South-East unto the West point about 80 miles; from thence, to her North.

North-west about 70 miles, and her East coast along the *Irish* Sea-shore, eighty miles: the Circumference upon two hundred and seventy miles.

The Air is clear and gentle, mixt *Aire.* with a temperate disposition, yielding neither extremity of Heat or Cold, according to the seasonable times of the Year, and the natural condition of the Continent. The Soil is generally Fruitful, Plentiful, both in Fish and Flesh, and in other Victuals, as Butter, Cheese and Milk. It is Fertile in Corn, Cattle, and Pasture ground, and now in a much better way of improving than formerly, in regard the *English* do generally affect to inhabit in this Province, more than in any other part of *Ireland*, by reason of its neerer Neighbourhood to the Metropolitan City of *Dublin*, and bordering so neer upon *England*, doth thereby consequently afford them, both more pleasure and profit. It is well watered with Rivers, and indifferently well Wooded, except the County of *Down*, which complains much of that want, being so desti-

destitute of Wood, that they are compelled to use a clammy kind of fat Turff for their Fuel, or Sea-coal brought out of *England*.

Commodi-  
ties.

The Commodities of this Country do chiefly consist in Cattle, Sea-Fowl and Fish. It breeds many excellent good Horses, called *Irish Hobbies*, which have not the same pace that other Horses have in their course, but a soft and round amble, setting very easily.

Division.

This Province containeth the Counties of *Kilkenny*, *Caterlagh*, *Queens County*, *Kings County*, *Kildare*, *East-Meath*, *West-Meath*, *Wexford*, *Wicklo* and *Dublin*: In which, are comprehended 926. Parishes, whereof, 47. Towns of Note, and 102. Castles, well fortified, and able to make good resistance against an Enemy; The *English* being forced to fortifie themselves in their Plantations with strong holds and fortresses, against the incursions of the Natives.

Mounster.

This Province is called in *Irish*, *Muinn*; in a more ordinary construction of Speech, *Woun*; in *Latin*,  
tin,



in, *Momonis*; and in *English*,  
*Monaster*; lyeth open Southward  
 to the *Virginian Sea*: Northward it  
 fronteth part of *Connaght*: The  
 East is Neighbour'd by *Leinster*:  
 And the West is altogether wash'd  
 with the Ocean Westward.

The Form thereof is quadrant or *Form*  
 four-square, and in length extended  
 from *Ballastimore Bay* in her South,  
 unto the Bay of *Galway* in her  
 North, is about 90. miles. Her  
 broadest part from East to West, is  
 from *Waterford Haven*, to *Ferister*  
 Haven, and containeth an hundred  
 miles. The whole Circumference,  
 by following the Promontories and  
 Inlets, are above four hundred and  
 forty miles.

The *Aire* mild and temperate, *Aire*  
 neither too chilling Cold, nor too  
 scorching Hot. The Soil in some  
 parts Hilly, looking a loft with  
 Woody, Wild and Solitary Moun-  
 tains; Yet the Vallies below, are  
 garnished with Corn-fields. And ge-  
 nerally, all both pleasant for Sight,  
 and fertile for Soil.

The

*Commodi-  
ties.*

The general Commodities of this Province, are Corn, Cattel, Wood, Wool and Fish. The last whereof, it affords in every place plenty and abundance of all sorts. But none so well known for the Store of *Herrings* that are taken there, as is the Promontory called *Eraugh*, that lies between *Bautre* and *Baltimore Bay*. Whereunto every year a great Fleet of *Spaniards* and *Portugals* resort (even in the midst of Winter) to Fish also for *Cods*.

*Division.*

It was in times past divided into many parts, as *Towoun*, that is *North Mounster*, whereof *Tuomond* (*at Thomond*) or County of *Clare* was accounted part of it; *Deswoun*, that is *South Mounster*; *Hierwoun*, that is, *West Mounster*; *Adnan-Woun*, that is, *Middle Mounster*; and *Urwoun*, that is, the *Front of Mounster*. But at this day it is distinguished into these Counties; *Limrick*, *Kery*, *Corke*, *Waterford* and *Tipperary*: And in these Shires are comprehended (besides many safe Stations and Roads for Shipping) twenty four Towns of Note and Trading, sixty  
fix

fix Castles of Old Erection, and including in the whole, eight hundred and two Parishes.

This Province being counted the largest of all *Ireland*, called by our *Welsh Britains*, *Uluw*; in *Irish*, *Cai-Guilly*; in *Latin*, *Ultonia* and *Ulidia*; in *English*, *Ulster*; On the North it is divided by a narrow Sea of three or four hours Sail from *Scotland*; Southward it extends it self to *Connaught* and *Leinster*; The East part lieth upon the *Irish Sea*; And the West part is continually beaten with the boisterous rage of the main West Ocean. This Province and farthest part of *Ireland*, fronteth the *Scottish Islands*, which are called the *Hebrides*, and are scattered in the Seas between both Kingdoms; whose Inhabitants at this day are the *Irish-Scot*, and their Language is the same as the *Irish*.

The Form thereof is round, reaching in length from *Coldagh Haven* in her North, to *Kilmore* in her South, neer an hundred miles; and in breadth from *Black-Abby* in her East, to *Galebeg point* in her West, one hun-

hundred thirty and odd miles: The whole in Circumference, about four hundred and twenty Miles.

*Airs.*

This Country seldom feeleth any unseasonable extremities, the quick and flexible Winds cooling the heat of Summer, and soft and gentle Showers mollifying the hardness of the Winter. Briefly, the *frozen* nor *torrid Zone* have not here any usurpation; the clouds in the Aire being very sweet and pleasant; yea, and when they are most impure, are not unwholsom, nor of long continuance, the rough winds holding them in continual agitation.

*Commodities.*

This equal temperature causeth the ground to bring forth great store of several Trees, both fit for Building & bearing of Fruit; plentiful of grasse for feeding of Cattle, and is abundantly furnished with Horses, Sheep and Oxen; The Rivers likewise pay double Tribute, deep enough to carry Vessels either for pleasure or profit, and Fish great store, both for their own uses, and commodity of others. *Salmons* in some Rivers of this Country abound more in number.

number than in any River of *Europe*. To speak ( in general ) though in some places it be somewhat barren, troubled with Loughs, Lakes and thick Woods, yet it is every where fresh and full of Cattle and Forrage, ready at all times to answer the Husbandmans pains ; And now Nature being much beholden to the Art and Industry of the *British* Planters in this Province, who cause all things to flourish there, has wholly taken away the former complaints, how that the various show upon Banks, the shady Groves, the green Meadows, hanging Hills, and the spacious Fields fit for Corn ( being left unmanured ) did seem to be angry with their Inhabitants for suffering all to grow wild and barbarous, through their own negligence.

It is divided into the Counties of *Division*.

1. *Louth*, 2. *Cavan*, 3. *Fermanagh*, 4. *Down*, 5. *Monaghan*, 6. *Armagh*, 7. *Colrane*, 8. *Tirconnel*. 9. *Tir-Oen*, and 10. *Antrim*. In which are comprehended two hundred and fourteen Parishes, whereof fourteen are Towns of Note for Com-

Commeree and Traffick, and thirty Castles for the defence of the Country, and keeping under the wild *Irish*; wilder and more untractable formerly in these Northern parts, than the rest of *Ireland*; But now by reason of the last general Rebellion (the *Irish* being upon the matter wholly rooted out from hence) there is as hopeful a *British* Plantation going on in this Province, as in any other in all *Ireland*.

Con-  
naught.

This Province named by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Conaghria*, and *Conacia*; by the *Irish*, *Conaghry*, and the *English* men, *Connaught*: is bounded Eastward, with part of the Province of *Leinster*; Northward, with part of *Ulster*; Westward, with the West main Ocean; and on the South, it is confined with a part of the Province of *Mounster*, closed in with the River *Shanon*, and butting against the Kingdom of *Spain*.

Form.

The Form thereof is long, and towards the North and South ends, thin and narrow; but as it grows towards the middle, from either part it waxeth still bigger and bigger;

ger; extending in length from the *Shannon* in her South, to *Eins Kel-*  
*ling* in her North, one hundred twenty six Miles, and the broadest part is from *Tromer* in her East, to *Barragh-*  
*Bay* in her West, containing about fourscore Miles. The whole in Circuit and compass is above four hundred Miles.

The Aire is not altogether so pure *Aire.* and clear, as in the other Provinces of *Ireland*, by reason of certain moist places (covered over with grass) which of their softness are usually termed Boghs, both dangerous, and full of vaporous and foggy mists.

This Country as it is divided into *Commodi-*  
several portions, so is every portion *ties.* severally commended for the Soil, according to the seasonable times of the year. *Thomond* or the County of *Clare*, is said to be a County so conveniently situated, that either from the Sea or Soil there can be nothing wish'd for more, than what it doth naturally afford of it self, were but the Industry of the Inhabitants answerable to the rest. *Galaway* is a Land very thankful to the painful Husband-

Husbandman, and no less Commo-  
dious and profitable to the Shep-  
heard. *Maio*, is replenished both  
with pleasure and fertility, abun-  
dantly rich in Cattle, Deer, Hawks,  
and plenty of Honey. *Slego* ( coast-  
ing upon the Sea ) is a plentiful  
Country for feeding and raising of  
Cattle. *Letrim* ( place rising up  
throughout with Hills ) is so full of  
rank grass and Forrage, that (as *So-  
linus* reporteth ) if Cattle were not  
kept sometimes from grazing, their  
fulness would endanger them. And  
*Roscomon* is a Territory, for the most  
part plain and fruitful, feeding many  
Heards of Cattle, and with mean  
Husbandry and Tillage, yeilding  
plenty of Corn. As every particular  
is thus severally profitable by in-  
bred Commodities ; so is it no less  
commended ( in the generality ) for  
the many accommodate and fit Bays,  
Creeks, and Navigable Rivers, lying  
upon her Sea coasts, that after a sort  
invite and provoke the Inhabitants  
to Navigation.

*Division.*

It is divided at present, into these  
five Shires ; that is to say, 1. *Letrim*;

2. *Ros-*

2. R  
5. G  
Cour  
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2. *Roscommon*, 3. *Maio*, 4. *Slego*,  
5. *Galloway*, and 6. *Thomond*, or the  
County of *Clare*. In which are com-  
prehended but eight Towns of any  
consequence, for commerce and traf-  
fick, (an Argument of the imperfect  
plantation of it by the *English* Con-  
querors) and about twenty four  
Castles, for the defence of the Coun-  
try, of Old Erektion, besides such  
Fortresses as have been raised occasi-  
onally in our latter troubles. But in  
the whole it contains three hundred  
and six Parishes.

These four Provinces makes up a *A Charact-*  
Kingdome ( which for the bigness ) *er of all*  
is of a most beautiful and sweet *Ireland.*  
Country as any under Heaven, be-  
ing stored throughout with many  
goodly Rivers, replenished in abun-  
dance with all sorts of Fish; sprink-  
led with many very sweet Islands  
and goodly Lakes, like little Inland-  
Seas, which will carry even Ships  
upon their waters; adorned with  
goodly Woods even fit for building  
of Houses and Ships so commodious-  
ly, as that if some Prince in the  
World had them, they would soon  
hope

hope to be Lords of all the Seas, and ere long, of all the World; Also full of very good Forts and Havens opening upon *England*, as inviting us to come unto them to see what excellent Commodities that Country can afford; besides the Soil it self most fertile, fit to yeild all kind of Fruit that shall be committed thereunto, And lastly, the Heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist in the parts towards the West.

*How far  
Ireland  
differs  
from Eng-  
land in  
Aire and  
Commodi-  
ties.*

*Ireland* differs not much from *England* for all manner of Commodities, either for Feeding or Cloathing, or for Pleasure or Profit, but only in this; that the Aire thereof, (though very wholesome and delectable) is neither so clear nor subtil as ours of *England*, by reason of the Sun being frequently overshadowed with clouds, even almost as well in Summer as in Winter, which is therefore nothing favourable for the ripening of Corn and Fruits; but so grateful to the ground, that it causeth grass to grow abundantly, not only fresh and long, but withal very

very sweet for all kind of Cattle ; and in Winter is more subject to Wind than Snow or Frost: the Wool of this Country is said to be not of so fine a grain as that of *England*, but the Sheep of as large a body (and so all other kind of Cattle ) if bred there after the way of *England*. Coal they have none but what is neer *Kilkenny*, and that in no great quantity, however, plentifully supplied with Fuel by reason of their neighbouring Boggs, though otherwise over-plentifully dispersed through all parts of the Kingdom. Iron Ore they have none (as I take it) but what is brought out of *England*, which occasions (as I suppose) so few Iron Mills in *Ireland*, there being of late years but two that I have heard off, viz. one at *Mountrath* in the Kings County, and another at *Corfew* in the County of *Wexford*, neer the Town of *Wexford*, the fewness whereof, I presume, is no great loss to that Country, the Woods there, (the over-plenty whereof was formerly complained of) being now of late too much destroyed even to admiration.

ration. Some Mines of Lead have been found there of late ( by the industry of the *English* ) the chief whereof, was that called the Silver Mines, in the County of *Typperary*, not far from *Limrick*; out of which was extracted some proportion of Silver which gave it the Denomination. *England* and *Ireland* may be esteemed ( without doubt ) to be two of the most plentiful Kingdoms for Provisions ( for the extent of them ) of any in the whole World; but that which causes the vast difference between the value of the Stock and Lands of the one and the other ( though both conveniently situated for Trade ) is that of Traffick and Commerce, and ( till of late ) the sloathfulness of the people of *Ireland*, in not disposing themselves to Manufactory, a great rectification whereof may be well hoped will fall out even in this our Age, whereunto there is already given a very fair beginning by the *British* Planters.

*Money.*

The *Irish* ( till of late times ) did for the most part mannage their Trade

Trade and Commerce amongst themselves by exchange of Wares, and commutation of Commodities, having little or no coyn stirring even amongst their greatest Lords and Noblemen; And no great marvel it should be so in Ireland, since that of old, the most usual material of money amongst the Roman Provinces was seldome Gold or Silver, but Brass, sometimes Leather, *Corium forma publica percussum*, as *Seneca* hath it. This last kind of Money was by *Frederick* the Second made current, when he besieged *Millaine*; The like is said to have been used here in *England* in the time of the Barons Wars: and why not? since no longer ago, than in the year 1574 the *Hollanders* then being in their Extremities, made money of Past-board; But this happened only in case of necessity: The Metals of Gold and Silver having for many hundred years (though not in such abundance) been the principal instrument of Exchange and Barter, and so questionless will continue to the end of the World.

Trade  
driven formerly in  
Ireland by  
Commutation of  
Commodities.

English  
Moneys  
prohibited  
to be trans-  
ported out  
of Eng-  
land into  
Ireland.

In the three and fortieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being *Anno* 1601. It was commanded by Proclamation (as also King *Henry* the Seventh had provided by Act of Parliament) that no man should carry over *English* money into *Ireland*, for as much as the Rebels drew unto themselves a great part thereof, to buy Ammunition and Provision for the Wars, and from thence the Merchants carried it into forraign Countries, to the great detriment of *England*. There was therefore a serious deliberation then had about changing the *Irish* Coyne by mingling some Brasse with it, for that the *Irish* War drew yearly out of *England* 160000 *l. Sterling*. Here upon some were of opinion, that the Charges of the War might be abated; that all the good Money might by Exchange be drawn out of *Ireland* into *England*; that so the Rebels, when the good Money failed, would be excluded from all Commerce with Forreigners, and of necessity weakned. Others argued to the contrary, that this change would

redound to the dishonor of the Queen, and the dammage of the Subject; that the good Money of *Ireland* could not be drawn thence without a great charge to the Queen; that the gain gotten thereby, if new Money were Coyned in *England*, would not, when the Accounts were cast up, countervail the Charges of carrying over; and much less if it were Coyned in *Ireland*, where a Mint must needs be set up at great Charges, and Minters must be hired for great wages: Neither could the Commerce of the Rebels with Foreigners be impeached, whilst there was Silver in the new Coyn, which the Merchant knew well enough how to seporate; unto whom it is all one whether he receive one piece of Money, or three of the same value; and that it was to be feared least the Souldiers would mutiny, for thereby their pay would be diminished. But *Buckhurst*, Lord Treasurer, a man very skilful in Money matters, with much ado extorted from the Queen, out of necessity (for that is the Law of Time) which

*A Mint not profitable to be set up in Ireland.*

he urged, that the Money should be changed for a time, to be called back again afterwards to the highest value; for she many times said, that this would depress her Fame, and be grievous to the Army. Yet did the Army continue without tumult, and commotion, through the Queens rare happiness, which retained her Authority with her People, joyned with love. To the Army certainly it proved a great loss, whether it turned to the benefit of the Queen or no, is not known; But to the Treasurers and Paymasters, without doubt it brought in good gain, whose avarice (which is a diligent searcher of hidden gains) may seem to have devised it.

The Money now generally used in *Ireland* (there being little of *English*, because prohibited to be transported thither beyond the summe of five pounds, as I take it; for the better encouragement of Trade between both Kingdoms) is most of all *Spanish* Coyne; to wit, pieces of Eight, at 4 s. 6 d. the piece, consisting of Plate pieces, *Mexico* and



and old *Peru*, with half and quarter pieces: The new *Perues* (whereof there was a good quantity) being not long since called in, and (by reason they were thought to be abused and falsified) converted into Plate, to the great benefit of some in *Dublin*, and the no small loss (-at that time) of a great many people in *Ireland*.

A piece of old *English* Gold is hardly to be seen in *Ireland*, (except what is closely kept in private hands) though there was a great proportion thereof before the late Wars, which commonly passed from hand to hand in ordinary Payments. There is a small quantity of Brass Coyne that is used there for the conveniency of change.

I have already hinted, how that *Bairdings*, the *Irish* (by reason of their Barbarous Laws and Customs) did never build any Houses of Brick or Stone, (some few poor Religious Houses excepted) before the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, which seems as manifest (as strange) by the entertainment of the said King

received at their chief City of *Dublin*, Anno 1172. who was unavoidably necessitated for meer accommodation (finding there no fit place for his reception) to set up a long house made of smoothed Wattles, after the manner of the Country, wherein he pompously entertained the great *Irish* Lords and Princes at Christmas. All their Forts, Castles, Stately Buildings, and other Edifices, were afterwards Erected by the *English*, except (as I said) some of the Maritime Towns, which were built by the *Ostmanni*, or Easterlings, who antiently came and inhabited *Ireland*.

The Buildings of  
Ireland  
much improved by  
the last forty years  
Peace.

During the last forty years peace in *Ireland*, there were many lovely Houses built through most part of that Kingdom, by the *English* Nobility and Gentry, with delicate improvements in Orchards, Gardens, and Inclosures correspondent thereunto. There was also at the same time (by way of imitation) the like good indeavours of making handsome Improvements and Buildings, by the better sort of *Irish* both

both in Towns and Country; But the fair Dwellings of the *English* were so badly handled by the *Irish* in the heat of the War, that scarce any part of them (except the main Walls) escaped from firing; upon which, being generally made of Massy Stone, the *English* have rebuilt and are building, besides a great number upon new foundations, many fair Structures.

But that which has been hitherto, and, I doubt, will ever hereafter be a blemish to the flourishing state of *Ireland* in point of Building, is the great number of Nasty-Smoaky-Cabins every where, made up of Wattles without any Chimnies, wherein the poorer sort of *Irish* do well, which cannot be altogether ascribed to their meer poverty, and antient custom, but rather much more to the uncertainty of the tenure whereby they hold the same, being Tenants only but from *May* to *May*, that so they may more easily quit their Station, and try their fortunes else where for an other year, though many times to as little effect, in case they find

*The Nasty Irish Cabins a great blemish to Ireland.*

themselves over-much oppress'd by their Landlords.

Their Parish Churches were generally as meanly built in *Ireland*, as their practice was in Religion; but now that the Country comes to be inhabited by a more civil and better Principled people, it may be justly hoped, and likewise expected, that there will be, by degrees, a Reformation in this particular, as well as in other matters of less moment, since the handsome building and adorning of Churches do conduce much to draw the rude people to the the reverencing and frequenting thereof.

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CHAP. II.

*Of the Inhabitants, their Laws, Religion and Manners; Of their Number, Language, Statute, Duty; Attire, Recreations, Names and Surnames.*

I have already declared how it is <sup>Inhabi-</sup> most probable that the first In-<sup>tants and</sup> habitants of this Island came hither out of *Britain*, now called *England and Wales*; And therefore shall proceed to give some farther Account, touching the Laws of this Realm, both Ancient and Modern. The *Brehon* Law, by which the *Irish* governed themselves, was a Rule of Right unwritten, but delivered by Tradition from one to another, in which often times there appeared great shew of Equity, in determining the Right between party and party; but in many things repugnant quite both to Gods Law and Mans: As for example in the case of <sup>The parti-</sup> Murder, the *Brehon*, that is their <sup>ality and</sup> Judge, would compound between <sup>impiety of</sup> <sup>the Brehon</sup> the Irish Law.

the Murderer, and the Friends of the party Murdered which Prosecuted the Action, that the Malefactor should give unto them, or to the Child or Wife of him that is slain, a recompence, which they called an *Eriach*: By which *vile* Law of theirs, many Murders amongst them were made up and smothered. And this Judge being as he was called the Lords *Brehon*, adjudged for the most part, a better share unto this Lord, that is the Lord of the Soil, or the head of that Sept, and also unto himself for his judgment a greater portion, then unto the Plaintiffs or parties grieved.

Sir Edward Poyning's the best Reformer of the Laws of Ireland. He that gave the fairest beginning to the Reformation of the Laws of Ireland, of any till his time, was Sir *Edward Poynings*, Lord Deputy of Ireland in the Reign of King *Henry the Seventh*, who finding in that Realm nothing but a common misery, took the best course he possibly could to establish there a well governed Common-wealth: and to that end he held a Parliament no less famous, than that of *Kilkenny*; and more

more available for the Reformation of the whole Kingdom. For whereas all wise men did ever concur in opinion, that the readiest way to Reform *Ireland*, was to settle a form of Civil Government there, conformable to that of *England*: To bring this to pass, Sir *Edward Poynings* did pass an Act, whereby all the Statutes made in *England* before that time, were enacted, established, and made of force in *Ireland*. Neither did he only respect the time past, but provided also for the time to come. For he caused an other Law to be made, that no Act should be propounded in any Parliament of *Ireland*, but such as should be first Transmitted into *England*, and approved by the King and Council there, as good and expedient for that Land, and so returned back again, under the Great Seal of *England*. This Act, though it seem *Prima facie* to restrain the Liberty of the Subjects of *Ireland*; yet was it made at the Prayer of the Commons, upon just and important cause.

For

For the Governors of that Realm,  
 Poynings especially such as were of that Coun-  
*Act made* try Birth, had laid many opprissions  
*at the re-* upon the Commons: And amongst  
*quest of the* the rest they had imposed Laws up-  
*Commons* on them, not tending to the general  
*of Ireland* good, but to serve private turns,  
 and to strengthen their particular fa-  
 ctions. This moved them to refer all  
 Laws, that were to be past in *Ireland*,  
 to be considered, corrected, and al-  
 lowed, first by the State of *England*  
 which had alwaies been tender and  
 careful of the good of this people,  
 and had long since made them a  
 Civil, Rich, and Happy Nation, if  
 their own Lords and Governors  
 there, had not sent bad intelligence  
 into *England*. Besides this, he took  
 special Order, that the Summons  
 of Parliament should go into all the  
 Shires of *Ireland*, and not to the  
 four Shires onely within the *English*  
*Pale*; (for out of that little Precinct  
 there were no Lords, Knights or  
 Burgeſſes, Summoned to the Parlia-  
 ment; neither did the Kings Writ  
 run in any other part of the King-  
 dom) and for that cause specially,  
 he



he caused all the Acts of Parliament, lately before holden by the Viscount of *Gormanston* to be repealed and made void. On these foundations they have raised many superstructures both of Law and Government, enacted in their own Parliaments, summoned by the Lord Deputy at the Kings appointment. Amongst many inconveniences which have been observed in the Laws of *England* in relation to the Government of *Ireland* (whereof a reformation was wisht) this was a main one; That when any of the *Irish* intended to go into Rebellion, they would convey away all their Lands, and Lordships to Feoffees in trust, whereby they reserved to themselves, but a State for term of life; which being determined by the sword, or by the halter, their Lands straight came to their heirs, and the Crown of *England* defrauded of the intent of the Law, which laid that grievous punishment upon Traytors, to forfeit all their Lands to the Prince, to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing

*Entailing  
of Lands  
supported  
the Rebel-  
lions in  
Ireland.*

ting treasons, for many which would little esteem of their own lives, yet for remorse of their Wives and Children would be with-held from that heinous crime. This appeared plainly in the late Earl of *Desmond*. For before his breaking forth into open Rebellion, he had conveyed secretly all his Lands to Feoffees of trust, in hope to have cut off her Majesty from the Escheat of his Lands; which inconvenience, though well enough avoided at that time by an Act of Parliament (obtained with much difficulty) which (by cutting off, and frustrating all such conveyances as had at any time by the space of twelve years before his Rebellion, been made, within the compass whereof, the fraudulent Feoffment, and many the like of others his accomplices and fellow traytors were contained) gave all his Lands to the Queen; yet were it not an endless trouble (supposing such Acts were easily brought to pass) that no Traitor or Fellon should be attainted, but a Parliam<sup>ent</sup>

ment must be called for bringing of his Lands to the Crown which the Law giveth it.

Although since the time of St. *Patrick* (*Anno 430*) Christianity was never extinct in *Ireland*, yet the Government being hailed into contrary factions, the Nobility lawless, the multitude wilful, it came to pass that Religion waxed with the temporal common sort cold and feeble, untill the Conquest by King *Henry* the Second did settle it. The Honourable state of Marriage they much abused, either in contracts, unlawful meetings, the Levitical and Canonical degrees of prohibition, or in divorcements at pleasure, or in omitting Sacramental solemnities, or in retaining either Concubines or Harlots for Wives: yea, where the Clergy were faint, they could be content to Marry for a year and a day of probation, and at the years end, to return her home upon any light quarrels, if the Gentlewomans friends were weak and unable to avenge the injury. Never was there heard of so many dispensations

sations for Marriage, as those men show, I pray God grant they were all authentick, and builded upon sufficient warrant.

*The Dis-  
orders of  
the Church  
of Ireland,  
about the  
latter end  
of Q. Eli-  
zabeths  
Reign, and  
the causes  
of it.*

About the latter end of Queen Elizabeths Reign, the Church of Ireland was infested, not onely with gross *Symony*, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloath, and generally a disordered life in the common Clergy-men: But besides all these had their particular enormities; for all the *Irish* Priests, which then enjoyed the Church-livings, were in a manner meer Lay-men, saving that they had taken holy Orders, but otherwise they did go, and live like Lay-men, follow all kind of Husbandry, and other worldly affairs, as other *Irish* men did. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the People, nor administer Communion, but Baptism they did: for they Christened then after the Popish fashion, onely they took the Tithes and Offerings, and gathered what fruit else they might of their Livings, the which they converted as badly, and some of them (they said)

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said) paid as due Tributes and Shares of their Livings to their Bishops ( I mean those which were *Irish*) as they received them duly.

Which shameful abuses the *Eng-lish* Governours could not redress, because they knew not the parties so offending; for the *Irish* Bishops had their Clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they durst not complain of them, so as they might do to them what they pleased, for they knowing their own unworthiness, and incapacity, and that they were still removeable at their Bishops will, yielded to what pleased him, and he took what he listed: yea, and some of them whose Diocesses were in remote parts, somewhat out of the Worlds eye, did not at all bestow the Benefices, which were in their own donation, upon any, but kept them in their own hands, and did set their own Servants and horse-boys to take up the Tithes and Fruits of them; with the which, some of them purchased great Lands, and built fair Castles upon the same. Of which abuse, if any question were

were moved, they had a very seemly colour and excuse, that they had no worthy Ministers to bestow them upon, but kept them so unbestowed for any such sufficient person, as should be offered unto them.

To meet with this mischief, there was a Statute enacted in *Ireland* which seems to have been grounded upon a good meaning; That whatsoever *English-man* of good conversation and sufficiency, should be brought to any of the Bishops, and nominated unto any Living, within their Diocess that were presently void, that he should (without any contradiction) be admitted thereunto, before any *Irish*: which good Law, though it had been well observed, and that none of the Bishops had transgressed the same, yet it wrought no Reformation thereof for many defects.

First, there were no such sufficient *English* Ministers sent over as might be presented to any Bishop for any Living; but the most part of such *English* as came over thither of themselves, were either unlearned,

or

or men of some bad note, for which they had forsaken *England*. So as the Bishop to whom they should have been presented, might justly reject them as incapable and insufficient. Secondly, the Bishop himself being perhaps an *Irish man* who being made Judge by that Law, of the sufficiency of the Ministers, might at his own Will, dislike of the *English man*, as unworthy in his Opinion, and admit of any *Irish*, whom he should think more for his turn. And if he should at the Instance of any *English man* of countenance there, whom he would not displease, accept of any such *English* Minister as should be tendered unto him, yet he would under-hand, carry such a hard hand over him, or by his Officers wring him so sore, that he would soon make him weary of his poor Living. Lastly, the Benefices themselves were so mean, and of so small profit in those *Irish* Countreys, through the ill husbandry of the *Irish* people which did inhabit them, that they would not yeild any competent maintenance for

for any honest Minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a Gown. And had all this been redressed, yet what good should any *English* Minister have done amongst them, by teaching or preaching unto them, which either could not understand him, or would not hear him? Or what comfort of life could he have, where his Parishoners were so insatiable, so intractable, so ill affected to him, as they usually are to all the *English*? Or finally, how durst almost any honest Ministers, that were peaceable civil men, commit their safety to the hands of such Neighbours, as the boldest Captains durst scarce dwell by?

*The Church  
of Ireland  
much Re-  
formed of  
late.*

But these Obstructions (by the special Providence of God appearing in the late Revolutions of *Ireland*) seems upon the matter to be wholly taken away; for first, there are now in *Ireland* (together with other Divines that commonly repair thither out of *England* and *Scotland*) a sufficient number of able Ministers bred up in *Trinity* Colledge at *Dublin* to supply the above mentioned

first



first Defect. Secondly, all the Bishops of *Ireland* are now worthy learned Protestants, who with all the endeavours they can, do incourage Protestant Ministers to settle themselves in such convenient places, as they may do God and that Countrey good service, and themselves have thereby a comfortable subsistence. Besides, the *English* Magistracy and Gentry being now so generally dispersed through all parts of *Ireland*, do give great countenance to the Protestant Ministry to proceed cheerfully and industriously in their Vocations. Lastly, the Benefices themselves are now (by the industry and good husbandry of the *British* Planters, together with the uniting of two or three Parishes into one to supply the imperfect Plantation thereof) become so considerable (and will much more hereafter when fully Planted) as to be able to yeild a competent maintenance for honest learned Ministers to live upon; and which is a farther encouragement to them, have already very considerable Congregations of Protestant-  
Plan-

Plantres through most parts of the Kingdom to attend upon Divine Service every Sabbath-day.

The Revenues of the Church of Ireland have much encreased of late in this manner.

*The Revenues of the Church of Ireland much increased of late, and the manner how.*

First, it was observed, that the Clergy of this Countrey were formerly little beholding to their Lay-Patrons; some of their Bishops being so poor, that they had no other Revenues than the Pasture of two Milch-Beasts. And so far had the Monasteries, and Religious Houses invaded by Appropriations, the Churches Rites; that of late times, in the whole Province of *Connaght*, the whole stipend of the Incumbent, was not above forty shillings, in some places not above sixteen. So that the poor *Irish* must needs be better fed than taught: For *ad tenuitatem Beneficiorum, necessario sequitur ignorantia Sacerdotum*: Poor Benefices will be fitted with ignorant Priests said *Panormitan* rightly. But this was remedied in part by his Sacred Majesty King *Charles*, the Second Monarch of Great Britain, who liberally (at the

the Suit of the late Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) restored unto this Church all the Impropriations, and portions of Tithes, which had been vested in the Crown: An Action of most singular Piety, and Princely Bounty.

Secondly, King *James*, out of the forfeited Lands of the six Counties in *Ulster*, allowed fair proportions of Land, as Gleabable to those Parishes within the said forfeited Counties, which has caused them (for so much) to be counted better Livings for Ministers, than in any other part of that Kingdom.

Thirdly, That by the care the Earl of *Strafford* had, while he was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, to increase the Revenues of that Church, he recovered by Law Suits great quantities of Land in many parts of *Ireland*, which the Church enjoys to this very day.

Fourthly and lastly, That the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* may be justly thought to be so far improved during the last forty years peace (by the industry of the *British* Planters, and

and by the *Irish* also in imitation of the same) as that all the Lands thereof (and consequently the Tythes in proportion) came to be worth in yearly value, four or five times more than it ever amounted unto in any former Age: And therefore we need not much marvel how that this last Rebellion, *Anno* 1641. became more bloody and universal than any of the former, the Popish *Irish* Clergy and Lawers well understanding that the Sovereign Command of *Ireland* was now worth the contending for. Reckoned in *Ireland* at, and since the Reformation, four Arch-bishops, nineteen Bishops, and one University, viz. *Dublin*.

*Bishop-  
ricks of  
Ireland.*

*Manners.*

The *Irish* have long since had the Character of being Religious, Frank, Amorous, Ireful, Sufferable, of pains infinite, very glorious, many Sorcerers, excellent Horse-men, delighted with Wars, great Alms-givers, passing in Hospitality: The lewder sort both Clerks and Lay-men, sensual and loose to Leachery above measure. The same being virtuously bred

bred up or Reformed, are such  
 mirrours of Holiness and Austerity,  
 that other Nations retain but a shew  
 or shadow of Devotion in compari-  
 son of them. As for Abstinence and  
 Fasting, which these days make so  
 dangerous, this is to them a familiar  
 kind of Chastisement: In which  
 virtue, and divers other, how far  
 the best excel, so far, in Gluttony  
 and other hateful Crimes, the Viti-  
 ous, they are worse than too bad.  
 They follow the dead Corps to the  
 grave with hollowings and barbarous  
 out-cries; pittiful in appearance;  
 whereof grew (as I suppose) the  
 Proverb, *To weep Irish.*

These people, of late times, were  
 so much civilized by their Cohabita-  
 tion with the *English*, as that the an-  
 tient Animosities and Hatred which  
 the *Irish* had been ever observed to  
 bear unto the *English* Nation, seem-  
 ed now to be quite deposited and bu-  
 ried in a firm conglutination of their  
 affection and National Obligations  
 passed between them. The two Na-  
 tions had now lived together forty  
 years in peace, with great security  
 and

*The good  
 agreement  
 bewixt the  
 Irish and  
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 lish in Ire-  
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 ing the  
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 years peace.*

## The present State

and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one Body, knit and compacted together with all those Bonds and Ligatures of Friendship, Alliance and Consanguinity as might make up a constant and perpetual Union betwixt them. Their interMarriages were frequent, Gossipred, Fostering (relations of much dearness among the *Irish*) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed amongst them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each others manners, many *English* being strangely degenerated into *Irish* affections and customs, and many *Irish*, especially of the better sort, having taken up the *English* Language, Apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses. And so great an advantage did they find by the *English* Commerce and Cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their Lands and native commodities, so intemperably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to

raise

raise by their own proper industry, as Sir *Philemon O Neal*, and many others of the prime Leaders in the last Rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* tenants off their Lands, while they took on *English*, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the same. A matter that was much taken notice of, and esteemed by many; as most highly conducing to the security of the *English* interests, and Plantation amongst them.

But behold a fatal day approaching (when least expected) wherein this great League of friendship was broken; A fatal day (I must confess) to the *English*; but much more fatal to the *Irish*, in that they destroyed thereby not only themselves, but the greatest part of their posterity. I say when least expected; because that the *Irish* Army raised for the invasion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the singular care of the Lords Justices and Council brought into his Majesties stores

*This great League of friendship betwixt the English and the Irish dissolved, by the breaking out of the Rebellion Octob. 23. 1641. when least suspected.*

within the City of *Dublin*; there was no manner of warlike preparations, no relicks of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any noise of War remaining within those coasts. Now while in this great calm the *British* continued in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of that Land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present Government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between his Majesty *Charles* the First, and his Subjects of *Scotland* being about that time fairly composed and settled: There brake out upon the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *October*, 1641. a most desperate and formidable Rebellion, an universal defection and general Revolt, wherein not onely all the meer *Irish*, but almost all the old *English* that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved.

When



Whereupon all bonds and ties of faith and friendship being broken, <sup>Whereupon</sup> the *Irish* Landlords (by the instigation of their Popish Priests) made a <sup>unexpressa- ble cruelties</sup> prey of their *English* tenants; *Irish* <sup>were pra-</sup> tenants and servants a sacrifice of <sup>the Irish</sup> their *English* Landlords and Masters; <sup>against the</sup> one Neighbour cruelly murdered by <sup>English in</sup> Ireland, another; Nay the *Irish* children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill *English* children: all other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an *English* man to the Slaughter. A work not difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For they living promiscuously amongst the *British*, in all parts having from their Priests received the Watch-word both for time and place, rose up, as it were, <sup>The inter-</sup> actuated by one and the same spirit, <sup>mixing of</sup> in all places in those Countries <sup>the Eng-</sup> where it first began in the Province <sup>lish among</sup> of *Ulster*, at one and the same point <sup>the Irish,</sup> of time; and so in a moment fell <sup>a main</sup> upon them, murdering some, strip- <sup>cause of</sup> <sup>their sud-</sup> <sup>den destru-</sup> <sup>ction.</sup>

ping or expelling others out of their habitations. This bred such a general terrour and astonishment amongst the *English*, as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were plowing in the fields, Husbands cut in pieces in the presence of their Wives, their Childrens brains dashed out before their faces, others had all their Goods and Cattle seized and carried away, their Houses burnt, their habitations laid waste, and all as it were at an instant, before they could suspect the *Irish* for their enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great violence, or do such mischief unto them.

*The rage of the Irish grew to that height of malice, as to hate the very English Language and their Cattle.*

Nay, they grew at last to that height of Malice, that some of the *Irish* would not endure the very sound of the *English* Language, but would have penalties inflicted upon them that spake *English*, and all the *English* names of places changed into the old *Irish* denominations; Others professed that they would not leave

leave an *English* man or woman alive in the Kingdom, but that all should be gone, no not so much as an *English* Beast, or any of the breed of them: in many places killing *English* Cows and Sheep, meerly because they were *English*; and in some places cutting off their legs, or taking out a piece out of their buttocks, and so let them remain still alive in torture:

We shall find in the *Roman* story, All bands of friendship and humanity violated in this great contest betwixt the Irish and the English during the several cruel contestations betwixt *Marius* and *Scilla*, when their factious followers filled the whole City of *Rome* with streams of blood, strange and most incomparable passages of friendships; one exposing himself to all manner of dangers for the preservation of his friend of a contrary faction; servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the lives of their beloved Masters. But here on the contrary, what open violation of all bands of humanity and friendship; no contracts, no promises observed; quarter given in the most solemn manner with the greatest Oathes and severe

The Irish  
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mously a-  
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root the  
English  
out of Ire-  
land.

rest execrations under hand and Seal, suddenly broken. The *Irish* Landlords making a prey of their *English* Tenants ; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Masters, and every one esteeming any Act wherein they could declare their hatred and malice most against any of the *British* Nation, as gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody executions were made in the Province of *Ulster*; and there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty ; yet must it be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces, did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent, to destroy and pluck up by the roots, all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping and driving out all of them, Men, Women and Children: but they laid waste their Habitations, burnt their evidences, defaced in many places all the Monuments of Civility, and Devotion ; the Courts and places of the *English* Govern-  
ment;

ment; Nay, as some of themselves  
expressed it, they resolved not to leave  
them either Name or Posterity in  
*Ireland*.

Having thus far briefly rendered  
an account touching matter of fact, <sup>That the</sup> Irish can  
transacted in this most bloody Re-pretend no  
bellion; I shall in the next place <sup>grievances,</sup>  
take an occasion to enquire, whether <sup>as motives</sup>  
this desperate resolution of the *Irish* <sup>to the last</sup> Rebellion  
proceeded from the sense of some An. 1641.  
grievous oppressions imposed upon  
by their *English* Governours, or ra-  
ther meerly from an impetuous de-  
fire they had to draw the whole  
Government of the Kingdom of  
*Ireland* into their own hands: Upon  
due consideration whereof, I cannot  
find they had the least cause to com-  
plain of oppression; for his late Ma-  
jesties Indulgence was so great to-  
wards his Subjects of *Ireland*, as  
that in the year 1640. upon their  
complaints, and a general Remon-  
strance sent over unto him from both  
Houses of Parliament then sitting at  
*Dublin*, by a Committee of four  
Temporal Lords of the Upper  
House, and twelve Members of the

House of Commons, with instructions to represent the heavy pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*; He took these Grievances into his Royal Consideration, descended so far to their satisfaction, as that he heard them himself, and made present Provisions for their redress. And upon the decease of Mr. *Wandsford*, Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Deputy there, under the said Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom (though then accused of High Treason, and imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*) His Majesty sent a Commission of Government to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny* West, and Sir *William Parsons*, Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in *Ireland*; yet soon after, finding the choice of the Lord *Dillon* to be much disgusted by the Committee, he did at their Motion, cause the said Commission to be Cancelld, and with their consent and approbation, placed the Government upon

Sir

*Sir William Parsons*, and *Sir John Borlace* Knight, Master of the Ordinance, both esteemed persons of great Integrity; and the Master of Wards, by reason of his very long continued employment in the State, his particular knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well beloved amongst the People. They took the Sword upon the ninth of *February 1640*. And in the first place they applyed themselves with all gentle lenitives to mollifie the sharp humours raised by the rigid passages in the former Government. They declared themselves against all such proceedings lately used, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law: They gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable ease and contentment of the people, freely ascending to all such Acts as really tended to a Legal Reformation: They betook themselves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters, as well of the Crown as Popular Interest, to be handled in his Majesties Courts of Justice:.

Justice: no way admitting the late exorbitancies ( so bitterly decryd in Parliament ) of Paper-Petitions or Bills, in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council-board, or before any other by their Authority : They, by his Majesties gracious directions, gave way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies ( there given, in the Earl of *Straffords* time, and then in Collection ) from forty thousand pounds each Subsidy, to twelve thousand pounds a piece, so low did they think fit to reduce them : And they were farther content ( because they saw his Majesty most absolutely resolved to give the *Irish* Agents full satisfaction ) to draw up two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, most impetuously desired by the Natives ; The one was the Act of Limitations, which unquestionably settled all Estates of Land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the space of sixty years immediately preceding ; The other was for the relinquishment of the right and title which his Majesty had to the

four.



four Counties in *Connaght*, legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed upon a due Survey, to *British* undertakers; as also to some Territories of good extant in *Mounster*, and the County of *Clare* upon the same title.

Thus was the present Government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords Justices and Council wholly departing from the rigour of former courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just compliance with the reasonable desires of the people. And his Majesty, that he might farther testify his own settled resolution for the continuation thereof, with the same tender hand over them, having first given full satisfaction in all things to the said Committee of Parliament still attending their dispatch, did about the latter end of *May* 1641. declare *Robert Earl of Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was Heir to *Sir Philip Sidney*, his Uncle,

as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney*, his Grandfather, who with great Honour and much Integrity long continued Chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; and being a person of excellent Abilities by Nature, great Acquisitions from his own private Industry, and publick Employment abroad, of exceeding great Temper and Moderation, was never engaged in any publick pressures of the Commonwealth, and therefore most likely to prove a just and gentle Governour, most pleasing and acceptable to the people.

The Romish Catholics privately enjoyed the exercise of their Religion through all *Ireland*.

Moreover, the *Romish* Catholics privately enjoyed the free exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had, by the over great indulgence of the late Governours, their Titular Arch-bishops, Bishops, Vicars general, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly among them, and without controul exercised a voluntary jurisdiction.

dition over them, they had their Priests, Jesuits and Fryars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain, Italy* and other forreign parts, where the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their Education. And these without any manner of Restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and private Gentlemens houses throughout the Kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their Religious Rites, and Ceremonies were freely enjoyed by them without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind.

Now seeing we have manifestly found by woful experience that all those Princely favours and tender proceedings of his late Majesty towards the *Irish*, proved altogether ineffectual to contain them within the due bounds of Loyalty and Obedience; The world may easily believe, *That no Princely favours can oblige the Popish-Irish part to be Loyal to the Crown of England.*

*The utter  
subversion  
of the En-  
lish Go-  
vernment  
designed by  
the last Re-  
bellion in  
Ireland  
An. 1641.*

lieve, that their designs ( by their last Rebellion ) tended to no other end than the utter subversion of the *English Government in Ireland*, and the establishing of the same in the hands of their own Natives; for confirmation whereof, we have the Testimony of a *Franciscan Fryar*, who was one of their Council, who tells us that the last Session of Parliament held at *Dublin* being proroged in *August 1641.* and the time drawing nigh for putting their design in execution of surprising *Dublin Castle*, and all other places of Strength in the possession of the *English in Ireland*, there was a great

*A Council  
held at  
Mullifar-  
van Abby  
in Meath,  
whether to  
Kill, or Ba-  
nish all the  
English  
out of Ire-  
land An.  
1641.*

meeting appointed of the heads of the *Romish* Clergy and other Laymen of their faction to be at the Abby of *Mullifarvan*, in the County of *West-Meath*, where amongst other matters there debated; the question was what course should be taken with the *English*, and all others that were found in the whole Kingdom to be Protestants. The Council was therein divided.

1. Some

1. Some were for their Banishment, without attempting on their Lives; for this was given the Instance, of the King of *Spain*s expelling out of *Granado*, and other parts of his Dominions, the *Moors* to the number of many hundred of thousands: all of them being dismissed with their Lives, Wives and Children, with some part of their Goods (if not the most part) that this his way of proceeding redounded much to the honor of *Spain*, whereas the Slaughter of many Innocents would have laid an everlasting blemish of cruelty on that State, that the like usage of the *English* their Neighbours, & to whom many there present owed, (if no more) yet their Education; would gain much to the Cause, both in *England* and other parts: That their Goods and Estates seized upon, would be sufficient without meddling with their Persons; that if the contrary course were taken, and their blood spilt, besides the Curse it might draw from Heaven upon their Cause, it might withal increase and provoke the Neighbour King-

dome

*The Council divided: some for Banishing.*

dome of *England*, and that justly taking a more severe revenge on them and theirs, even to extirpation if it had the upper hand.

Others for  
cutting off  
all the  
English.

2. On the other side, was urged a contrary preceeding to the utter cutting off all the *English* Protestants where, to the instance of the dismissed Moors, it was answered, that that was the sole Act of the King and Queen of *Spain*, contrary to the advice of their Council, which howsoever it might gain that Prince a name of mercy, yet therein the event shewed him to be most unmerciful, not only to his own, but to all Christendom beside. That this was evident in the great and excessive charge that *Spain* hath been since that time put unto by those Moors, and their posterity to this day. All Christendom also hath and doth still groan under the miseries it doth suffer by the Piracies of *Algiers*, *Sally*, and the like Dens of Thieves. That all this might have been prevented in one hour by a general Massacre, applying that it was no less dangerous to expel the *English*: That these Robbers and banish-

banished men might again return with swords in their hands, who by their hard usage in spoiling, might be exasperated, and by the hope of recovering their former Estates, would be incensed far more than strangers that were sent against them. Being neither in their persons injured, nor grieved in their estate, that therefore a general Massacre were the safest and readiest way for freeing the Kingdom of any such fears.

3. In which diversity of opinions, howsoever the first prevailed with some, for which the *Franciscans* (saith this Frier) did stand, yet others inclined to the second: some again leading to a middle way, neither to dismiss nor kill.

And according to this do we find the event and course of their proceedings. In some places they were generally put to the sword, or to other miserable ends: some restrain their persons in durance, knowing it to be in their hands to dispatch them at their pleasures; in the mean time they being reserved either for profit by their rancome, or for exchange of Prisoners,

*But both was practised, with that of imprisonment*

Prisoners, or gaining their own pardons by the lives of their Prisoners, if time would serve, or by their death, (if the worst did happen) to satisfy their fury. The third sort at the first altogether dismissed their prisoners, but first having spoiled them of their goods, and after of their raiment, exposing the miserable wretches to cold and famine, whereby many have perished by deaths, worse then sword or halter.

Hitherto of their Counsels, and the effect of them. Now for their intentions, all being reduced, (which God forbid) into their power; and thereof did they as by some Law, give such peremptory conclusions, that it may well be wondered the thoughts of men professing themselves wise, should be so vain: and herein I do still follow mine Informer.

*What the  
Irish would  
have done  
if they had  
prevailed.*

First, Their Loyalty to his Majesty should be still reserved. They said they of the modest sort: But both his Revenues and Government must be reduced to certain bounds. His Rents none other then the an-

cien



cient reservations before the Plantation, and Customs so ordered, as to them should be thought fitting.

Secondly, for the Government, such as would be esteemed loyal, would have it committed to the hands of two Lords Justices, one of the ancient *Irish* Race, the other of the ancient *British* Inhabitants in the Kingdom; Provided that they be of the *Romish* Profession.

Thirdly, That a Parliament should be forthwith called, consisting of whom they should think fit to be admitted, wherein their own religious men should be assistants.

Fourthly, *Poynings* Act should be repealed, and *Ireland* declared to be a Kingdom independant on *England*, and without any reference unto it in any case whatsoever.

Fifthly, All Acts prejudicial to the *Romish* Religion, should be abolished; and it to be enacted, That there should be none ohter profession in the

**The present State**  
the Kingdom but the *Romish*.

Sixthly, That onely the ancient Nobility of the Kingdome should stand, and of them, such as should refuse to conform to the *Romish* Religion, to be removed, and others put in their room ; howsoever the then present Earl of *Kildare* was to be excluded, and another established in his place.

Seventhly, All Plantation Lands to be recalled, and the antient proprietors to be reinvested in their former estates, with the limitations in their Covenant expressed ; That they had not formerly sold their interests on valuable considerations.

Eighthly , That the respective Countries of the Kingdom, should be sub-divided, and certain Bounds or Barronies assigned to the chief Septs, and others of the Nobility, who were to be answerable for the Government thereof : And that a standing Army might be still in being, the respective Governors being  
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to keep a certain number of men to be ready at all risings out ( as they term'd it : ) They also being to build and maintain certain Fortresses, in places most convenient within their Precincts: And that these Governours should be of absolute power, only responsible to the Parliament.

Lastly, for maintaining a correspondence with other Nations, and for securing the Coasts, that also they might be rendered considerable unto others, a Navy of a certain number of Ships was to be maintained. That to this end five Houses were to be appointed, one in each Province, accounting *Meath* for one of them; That to those houses should be allotted an annual pension of certain thousands of pounds to be made up of part of the Lands appropriate to Abbeyes: And a farther Contribution to be raised in the respective Provinces to that end: That these Houses were to be assigned to a certain Order of Knights, answerable to that of *Malta*, who were to be Sea-men: And to Maintain

tain this Fleet: that all Prizes were to be apportioned; some part for a Common Bank, the rest to be divided; to which purpose the selling of Woods serviceable for this use was to be forbidden: The house for this purpose to be assigned to the Province of *Leinster*, was *Kilmainham*, or rather *Houth*, the Lord of *Howth* being otherwise to be accommodated, provided he joyn with them; that place being esteemed most convenient, in respect of scituation, which they had small grounds to hope for.

*The Transplantation justified, by reason of the late barbarous carriage of the Irish towards the English.*

The serious consideration of this strange behaviour of the *Irish*, towards the *English*, hath given them just cause to place a wall of seperation between them and such dangerous Neighbours, by whose barbarous carriage and inhumanity, there were (since the Rebellion first brake out unto the time of the cessation made *Sept. 15. 1643.* which was not full two years after) three hundred thousand *British* and Protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood,

blond, destroyed some other way,  
or expelled out of their habitations,  
according to the strictest conjecture,  
and computation of those who seem-  
ed best to understand the numbers of  
*English* planted in *Ireland*, besides  
those few which perished in the  
heat of fight, during the War: And  
upon an enquiry made in *Ireland* *An.* The losses sustained by the British Planters in the space of 2. years from Oct. 23. 1641. amounted to  
1641. of their losses sustained in their  
Estates, Fortunes and Livelyhoods,  
by Spoil and Robbery, from the 23.  
of *October* 1641. till the 8. of *March*  
following, by estimation they a-  
mounted to six hundred thirty five  
thousand, three hundred seventy  
five pounds. And if a right informa-  
tion could have been taken, as I sup-  
posed, would have amounted to  
neer five hundred times as much.

It hath been said (of late) by  
some, that the people of *England*  
are quadrubled, within four hundred  
years, as doubling every two hun-  
dred years: How true this may be  
in relation to *England* I know not;  
but I am perswaded that this obser-  
vation may be more properly ap-  
plied to *Ireland*, which has been

H

(with-

## The present State

( within these four hundred years ) mightily improved by clearing of grounds from a Wilderness, and thereby consequently giving way for the enlargment of peoples Habitations, *Ireland* being reported to be generally overgrown with Woods in *Giraldus Cambrensis* his time. Though *Ireland* was very populous before the last War, and is computed to be half as big as *England*, yet I dare not say that it contained half as many people as *England* did, because above one fourth part of *Ireland* is taken up with unprofitable Boggs, Lakes and barren Mountains ; and for that the Towns Cities of *England* are far greater and more numerous in proportion , than those of *Ireland* ; in so much, as that the City of *London* it self may be thought to contain more people, than one half of the Kingdom of *Ireland* in the best of times ; But whether *Ireland* did ( in its prime ) contain two millions of people, or what more, I will not take upon me to determin, but do submit the decision of so doubtful a matter to  
more

more knowing persons, together with the enquiry, whither in time to come (when *Ireland* shall be fully inhabited) it may be thought (though mixedly) the *English* may inhabit the proportion of about one Province and an half of it, though most numerous in the Provinces of *Monnster* and *Leinster*: The *Irish* the like proportion of one Province and an half more, though most numerous in the Province of *Connaght*; And the *Scots* inhabiting the proportion of a fourth part of *Ireland*, but more numerous in the Province of *Ulster*, than in any other.

The *Irish* tongue is sharp and sententious, offereth great occasion to quick Apothegms and proper allusions, wherefore their common *Jesters*, *Bards*, and *Rymers*, are said to delight passingly those that conceive the grace and propriety of the tongue. But the true *Irish* indeed differeth so much from that they commonly speak, that scarce one amongst five score, can either write, read, or understand it. Therefore it is prescribed among certain

Their  
Language.

## The present State

their Poetes, and other Students of Antiquity.

The *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French* Tongues are compounded of the *Latine*. The *German* (high and low Country) *Saxon*, *Scotland*, and *English* have great affinity. *North-Wales*, *South-Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Little Britain* in *France*, as *Cambrensis* and Sir *John Price* have learnedly discoursed; but the *Irish* (except the *Redshanks*, and the *Scottish* of the *High-lands*) have affinity with no Tongue (as I can learn) more then with the *British* Language.

Many reasons there are to induce one to be of this opinion; first of all according to the first command, the *Celtick* Tongue was of force in all these Northern parts. *Bodinus* writeth, that the *British* and *Celtick* Language was all one. *Pausanius* the *Grecian* maketh mention how the *Celts* in their Language called a Horse *Mar*, and three Horses, *Trimar*; the which, the *Welchman* useth to this day with a guttural alteration, *Margh*, and *Treemargh*. Also *Cambden*, the learned Antiquary of this

our



our Age, is of this opinion ( remembering the Story of *Gurguntius*, and the infinite number of *British* Words in use among the *Irish*, the which he termeth *infinitam vim Britannicarum dictionum* ) that the *Britains* first peopled this Land. And although of a long time ( by reason of troubles, and alterations ) the speech grew wholly out of use; yet afterwards in success of time it was revived. Secondly, the *British* and *Irish* oft *Matched* together, so that there grew among them great alliance and affinity, to the furtherance of the Language. Thirdly, the first Conquerors in *Henry* the Seconds time, that brake the Ice into this Land, were *Welch-men*, whose Names and Seats to this day are fresh in memory. As for instance, in the Dioces of *Leighlin*, there is a Town called *Villa Wallicorum*, the Town of *Welch men*. *Careg* and *Craig* in the *British* or *Welch* Tongue is a Stone or Rock, and of the *Britains*, *Carregfergus*, *Carreggmont-Griffin*, *Carregg* in *Shurie*, *Carriguaspin*, and *Craigwading*, have their Names. Likewise,

*Llis* in *British* is a Court or Palace, of that in *Ireland* you have *Lismore*, *Lisfenyn*, *Lislofty*, *Lismakery*. *Glan* and *Glyn* are *British* words, of them have you *Glangibbon*, *Glandoboy*, *Glanreynold*, *Glynburry*, *Glyndelory*, *Glynmoloura*, &c. *Inis* an Island, is *British* and *Irish*, of which kind are *Inissirocan*, *Inishoven*, *Inisdiok*, *Inisnag*, *Iniscorthie*, and the like. *Rath*, a Moat or round Trench (whereof there are many in *Ireland* made by the *Danes*) if *Beda* had not said that it was a *Saxon* word, I would have said it had been *British*, and how many names of places are compounded with it in *Ireland*, were too long to rehearse. I will here give *Stainhurst* leave to conclude, *Omnes Insulae locis & lucos Wallici nominis gloria implevit*; the renown of the *Welch* name (saith he) hath filled all the ways and woods of the Island. The *Irish* are now generally bred both to read and speak the *English* Tongue. The *Irish* are commonly of a large and handsome proportion of body, clear of Skin and Hue. Their Women are well Favoured, clear Colour.

loured, fair handed, big and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at Will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body.

*Dyet.*

The Common sort of People in *Ireland* do feed generally upon Milk, Butter, Curds and Whey, New bread made of Oat meal, Beans, Barly and Pease, and sometimes of Wheat upon Festivals, their bread being baked every day against the fire. Most of their Drink is Butter-milk and Whey; They feed much also upon Parsnips, Potatoes, and Water-cresses, and in those Countreys bordering on the Sea, upon Sea weeds, as Dullusck, Slugane, but seldome eat Flesh. The middle sort of the *Irish* Gentry differ not much from the same kind of Dyet, save only that they oftner feed upon Flesh, eat better Bread, and drink Beer more frequently. They are all of them (when opportunity offers it self) too much inclined to drink Beer and *Usquebagh* to an excess; And both Men and Women of all sorts, extreamly addicted to take Tobacco in a most abundant manner.

## The present State

The best sort of *Irish* do imitate the *English* both in Dyet and Apparel, but not without a palpable difference (most commonly) in the mode of their Entertainment.

*Active.*

Trouses and Mantles were (till King *James* and King *Charles* his Reign) the general habit of the *Irish*; their Mantles serving many times as a fit house for an Out-Law, a meet bed for a Rebel, and an apt cloak for a Thief; But now the Men wear their cloaths altogether after the *English* fashion, having converted their Mantles into Cloaks, with which kind of wear they are much affected. Formerly they used no Hats, but Caps made of *Irish* Frize, called *Cappeenes*, and even now the middle sort of Gentry seldom wear Bands, unless they go abroad amongst Strangers. The Common sort of People both Men and Women wear no *English* Skoos, but things called *Irish Brogues*, thin soled, somewhat like our Pumps, and sowed altogether with Leather. The ordinary sort of *Irish* Women wear a kind of loose Gowns with-

out.

out stiffening, with Petticoats, and Wascots without any Bodys; having linnen Kerchers about their heads, instead of head-cloaths, and never using hats, but covering their heads with their Mantles to save themselves from rain, or the heat of the Sun.

The *Irish* Gentry are musically disposed, & therefore many of them <sup>Recreations.</sup> play singular well upon the *Irish-Harp*; they affect also to play at Tables; The Common sort meet oftentimes in great numbers (in plain Meadows or Ground) to recreate themselves at a play called *Bandy*, with Balls and crooked Sticks, much after the manner of our play at *Stoe-ball*; they are much given to Dancing after their Country way, and the men to play upon the *Jews-Harp*, and at Cards, but for no great value.

The *Irish* Names of Baptism are <sup>Irish Names.</sup> generally, *Teig*, *Patrick*, *Turlough*, *Munrogh*, *Morroch*, *Danoch*, *Loughlin*, *Dermot*, &c. with many other Names made use of there as well as here in *England*; as namely, *John*,

Edmund, Edward, Thomas, William, James, &c.

*Sirnames*

For the better breaking of the Heads, and Septs of the *Irish*, which was one of their greatest strength, and motive to lead them to Rebellion, there was a law made in *Ireland*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, by which it was commanded, that whereas all men then used to be called by the name of their Septs, according to the several Nations, and had no Sirnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take upon himself a several Sirname, either of his trade and faculty, or of some quality of his body or mind, or the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, whereby they should not only, not depend upon the head of their Sept, as then they did, but also in time, learn quite to forget the *Irish* Nation. And herewithall would I also wish, all the *O's* and *Mac's*, which the Heads of Septs have taken to their names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that  
the

the same being an Ordinance (as some say) first made by *O Brien* for for the strengthening of the *Irish*, the abrogating thereof will as much infeeble them. The custome of prefixing the vowel *O*, to many of the chief *Irish* Surnames began in the Reign of *Brien Boria* the son of *Kenneth* King of *Ireland*. As for *Mac* in Surnames, it beareth no other signification, then *Fitz* doth amongst the *French*, and (from them) the *English*, and *Ap* with the *Welch*. And although it were more anciently used then the other, yet it varied according to the Fathers Name, and became not so soon fully settled in families.

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## CHAP. III.

## Of the Government.

Government

The Vice-  
Rois or  
Deputies of  
Ireland di-  
versly na-  
med at  
sundry  
times.

**T**HE Government of *Ireland* by *Vice-Rois* or *Deputies*, were from the first entrance of the *English* under *Henry* the Second, till King *Edward* the Third's days, called *Justicers of Ireland*, and *Justicers and Keepers of the Land of Ireland*; then *Lieutenants*, and their *Vicegerent* *Deputies*. Afterward, they were at the Prince his pleasure tearmed, sometimes *Deputies*, sometimes *Justicers*, and sometimes *Lieutenants*, (which is a little more honour) but for the most part with one and the same authority. And without doubt those first *Justicers of Ireland* (as the *Justice* of *England*, who in that age was also for brevity called *Justice*,) were ordained for keeping of the Peace, and Ministring of Justice to all and every person; as were the

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Proprietors, and Proconsuls in old time among the *Romans*, which were sent into a Province with highest command.

Before we pass further, Let us take a view of the Catalogue here before us, comprehending this following Table.

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A Table.

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A Table shewing the Names and Titles of all the Lord Lieutenants, Deputies, and Lord Justices of *Ireland*, with the time they began their Government; since the 16<sup>th</sup> Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh unto this present Year, 1672.

Order	Their Names.	Titles they had before.	Titles in <i>Ireland</i> .	Month.	Day.	Year
1	<i>Henry</i>	<i>Duke of York</i>	L. Lieuten.			1501
2	<i>Gerrald</i>	<i>Earl of Kildare</i>	Deputy			1501
3	<i>Thomas Howard</i>	<i>Earl of Surrey</i>	Licuten.			1520
4	<i>Piers Butler</i>	<i>Earl of Ossory</i>	Deputy			
5	<i>Gerrald</i>	<i>Earl of Kildare</i>	Deputy			
6		<i>Baron of Delvin</i>	Deputy			
7	<i>Piers Butler</i>	<i>Earl of Ossory</i>	Deputy			1529

18	Will. Skevington	Knight	Deputy	1530
9	Gerrald	Earl of Kildare	Deputy	1532
10	Will. Skevington	Knight	Deputy	1534
11	Leonard	Lord Gray	Deputy	1534
12	William Brereton	Knight	Deputy	1540
13	Antho. S. Leager	Knight	Deputy	1541
14	William Brabazon	Knight	Justice	1546
15	Antho. S. Leager	Knight	Deputy	1546
16	Edw. Bellingham	Knight	Deputy	1548
17	Francis Bryen	Knight	Justice	1549
18	William Brabazon	Knight	Justice	1549
19	Antho. S. Leager	Knight	Deputy	1550
20	James Crofts	Knight	Deputy	1551
21	Thomas Cusack	Knights	Justices	1552
	Gerrald Ailmer		Deputy	1554
22	Antho. S. Leager	Knight	Deputy	1555
23	Thomas	Lord Fitz-Water	Deputy	

24	Hugh Crummen	Arch. Bish. Dub. L. Chan.	Justices	February	6	1557
25	Henry Sidney	Knight and Treasurer	Justice	April	27	1557
26	Henry Sidney	Knight	Deputy	Septemb.	24	1558
27	Thomas	Earl of Suffex	Justice	Decemb.	13	1558
28	H. Sidney absent	Knight	Deputy	August	27	1559
29	Suffex in Scotia	Earl of Suffex	Justice	February	15	1559
30	Thomas	Knight	Lieutenant	June	24	1560
31	Henry Sidney	Earl of Suffex	Justice	February	2	1560
32	Thomas	Knight	Lieutenant	June	1	1561
33	W. Fitz-Williams	Earl of Suffex	Justice	January	22	1561
34	Thomas	Knight	Lieutenant	July	24	1562
35	W. Fitz-Williams	Earl of Suffex	Justice	May	25	1564
36	Thomas	Knight	Deputy	June	20	1565
37	Nicholas Arnold	Knight				
38	Henry Sidney	Knight				

14 1567

Octob.

Justices

Lord Chancellor

Knight

Doe Weston

30

Wm. Fitz-Williams

Deputy

June

20

1565

of Ireland.

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39	Doe Weston	Lord Chancellor	Justice	14	1567
40	W. Fitz-Williams	Knight	Deputy	20	1568
41	Henry Sidney	Knight	Justice	26	1570
42	W. Fitz-Williams	Knight	Deputy	13	1570
43	Henry Sidney	Knight	Deputy	18	1575
44	William Drurie	Knight	Justice	14	1578
45	William Petham	Knight	Justice	11	1579
46	Arthur	Lord Gray	Deputy	12	1580
47	Adam Loftus	Arch-Bish. Dub. L. Chan.	Justices		1582
48	Henry Wallop	Knight and Treasurer	Deputy	21	1584
49	John Perrott	Knight	Deputy	30	1588
50	W. Fitz-Williams	Knight	Deputy	11	1594
51	William Russel	Knight	Deputy	22	1597
52	Thomas	Lord Burrough	Justice	30	1597
53	Thomas Norris	Knight	Justice	27	1597
	Adam Loftus	Arch-Bish. Dub. L. Chan.			

53	Robert Gardiner	Knight	Justice	Novem.	27	1597
54	Rob. D'Evereux	Earl of Essex	Lieutenant	April	15	1598
	Adam Loftus	Arch-Bish. Dub. L. Chan.	Justices			1599
55	George Carie	Knight and Treasurer	Lieutenant			1599
56	Charles Blunt	Lord Mount-joy	Deputy	April	29	1603
57	George Carie	Knight and Treasurer	Deputy	February	3	1604
58	Arthur Chichester	Knight	Justices	March	14	1613
59	Thomas Jones	Arch-Bish. Dub. L. Chan.	Deputy	July		1614
60	Rich. Wingfeild	Knight and Marshal	Justices	February	11	1615
61	Arthur Chichester	Lord Belfast	Deputy	August	30	1616
	Thomas Jones	Arch-Bish. Dub. L. Chan.	Justices	May	4	1622
62	John Denham	Knight	Deputy	Septemb.	8	1622
63	Oliver St. John	Knight	Justices	October	25	1629
	Adam Loftus	K. Visc. Ely, L. Chan.	Deputy			1633
64	Rich. Wingfeild	Visc. Poyercourt	Justice			
65	Henry Carie	Visc. Faulkland				
	Adam Loftus	Visc. Ely, L. Chan.				

65	Richard Boyle	Earl of Cork L. Treas.	Justice	October	25	1629
			Deputy			1633

of Ireland.

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65	Richard Boyle	Earl of Cork L. Treas.	Justice	October	25	1629
66	Tho. Wentworth	Visc. Wentworth	Deputy			1633
67	Adam Loftus	Visc. Ely, L. Chan.	Justices	June	2	1636
68	Char. Wandesford	Esq. Mr. of the Rolls	Lieutenant			1636
69	Robert Dillon	Lord Kilkenny West	Justices			1639
70	Char. Wandesford	Esq. Mr. of the Rolls	Lieutenant			1640
71	Char. Wandesford	Master of the Rolls	Deputy	April	1	1640
72	William Parsons	K. Mr. of the Wards.	Justices	Decemb.		1641
73	John Burlace	K. Mr. of the Ordnance	Justices	Decemb.		1642
74	Henry Fichburne	K. Gover. of Drogheda	Lieutenant	Decemb.	31	1643
75	James Butler	Earl Marq. of Ormond	Justices	January	17	1660
	Maur. Ensfacc	Lord Chancellor		Decemb.	31	
	Roger	Earl of Orrery				
	Charles	Earl of Montmaib				

76	James	D. Mar. & E. of Ormond	Lieutenant	July	28	1662
77	Thomas	Earl of Ossory	Deputy	May	31	1663
78	James	D. Mar. & E. of Ormond	Lieutenant	Septemb.	25	1665
79	Thomas	Earl of Ossory	Deputy	April	18	1668
80	John	Lord Roberts	Lieutenant	Septemb.	21	1669
81	John	Lord Berkley	Lieutenant	April		1670
82	Michael Boyle	Arch. Bish. Dub. L. Chan.	Justices			1671
83	Arthur Forbs	Knight	Lieutenant	Septemb.		1671
84	John	Lord Berkley	Lieutenant	May	21	1672
	Henry Capell	Earl of Essex				

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Notwithstanding what before is said, no Vice-Roy in all Europe hath greater Power, or comes neerer the Majesty of a King in his Train and State, yet it was thought (that in the times of trouble) this should have been one principal in the appointing of the Lord Deputies Authority, that it should be more ample and absolute than it is, and that he should have uncontrouled Power, to do any thing, that he with the advisement of the Council should think meet to be done: for that it was impossible for the Council here to direct a Governour there, who should be forced oftentimes to follow the necessity of present occasions, and to take the suddain advantage of time, which being once lost could not be recovered, whilst, expecting direction from hence, the delays whereof were oftentimes through other greater affairs most irksome, the oportunities there the mean time past away, and greater danger did often grow, which by such timely prevention might easily have been stopped: And this is

*The great Power and Train of the Vice-Roy or Deputies of Ireland.*  
*The want of more absolute power in the Deputies of Ireland, was formerly pre-judicial to the Affairs of that wor<sup>d</sup> Kingdome.*

worthily observed by *Machiavel* in his discourses upon *Livie*, where he commendeth the manner of the *Romans* Government, in giving absolute Power to all their Councillors and Governors, which if they abused they afterwards should dearly answer. And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of *Venice*, of *Florence*, and many other Principalities of *Italy*: who use to limit their chief Officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy occasions, as they could never come unto again: The like whereof, who so hath been conversant in the Government of *Ireland* (especially during *Queen Elizabeths* Reign) hath too often seen to their great hindrance and hurt.

That besides the want of Power, there were eminent defects observed in the management of the publick Affairs of *Ireland*.

Besides this want of Power which did hinder the good Reformation of *Ireland*, there were eminent defects noted in the management of the publick Affairs of that Kingdom, by some of the chief Governors thereof, who seeing the end of their Government to draw nigh, and some mischiefs and practices growing up, which

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which afterwards might work trouble to the next succeeding Governor, would not attempt the redress, or cutting off thereof, either for fear they should leave the Realm unquiet at the end of their Government, or that the next that came, should receive the same too quiet, and so happily win more praise thereof, than they before. And therefore they would not seek at all to repress that evil, but would either by granting protection for a time, or holding some emparlance with the Rebel, or by treaty of Commissioners, or by other like devices, only smother and keep down the flame of the mischief, so it might not break out in their time of Government, what came afterwards they cared not, or rather wish'd the worst

To this may be added, that when the *Irish* have been broken by the Sword of one Governour, and thereby consequently made fit and capable for subjection, another succeeding (as it were) into his harvest, and finding an open way made for what course he pleased, bent not to

*The favor-  
ing of the  
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the Lord  
Deputies  
that of Ireland.*

point which the former intended, but rather quite contrary, and as it were in scorn of the former, and in vain vaunt of his own Councils, would tread down and disgrace all the *English*, and set up and countenance the *Irish* all that he he could, thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his Government, (wherein he thought much amiss) for surely his Government could not be sound and wholesome for that Realm, it being so contrary to the former. For it was even as two Physicians should take one sick body in hand, at two sundry times: of which, the former would minister all things meet to purge and keep under the body; the other, to pamper and strengthen it suddenly again; whereof, what is to be looked for, but a most dangerous relapse? Therefore, by all means it ought to be fore-seen, and assured, that after once entering into this course of Reformation, there be afterwards no remorse nor drawing back for the sight of any such rueful objects, as must thereupon follow, nor for compassion

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passion of their Calamities, seeing that by no other means it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of will, but of very urgent necessity.

The Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, hath for his assistance a Privy Council attending on him, though resident for the most part at *Dublin*: and in emergencies, or cases of more difficult nature proceedeth many times in an arbitrary way, without formalities of Law.

*The Lord  
Deputies  
of Ireland  
assisted by  
a Privy  
Council.*

Sir Henry Sidney Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in Queen Elizabeths time, to enure and acquaint the People of *Mounster* and *Connaght*, with the English Government again (which had not been in use among them for the space of two hundred years before) he instituted two Presidency Courts in those two Provinces, placing Sir Edward Fitton in *Connaght*, and John Perrot in *Mounster*. The Lord President of *Mounster*, hath one Assistant, twelve learned Lawyers, and a Secretary.

*The Lords  
Presidents  
of Con-  
naght and  
Mounster  
instituted  
in Queen  
Elizabeths  
time.*

## CHAP. IV.

*Of the Title changed from Lord to King of Ireland in the time of Henry the Eighth. Of the Titles of the Crown to every part of Ireland, and to the whole diverse ways; And several claims to the Land of Ireland. Of the Revenue and Strength.*

*Title altered from Lord to King.*

SIR Anthony Saint-Leger Lord Deputy of Ireland, in a Parliament which he held the 33. of Henry 8. caused an Act to pass, which gave unto King Henry the Eighth, his Heirs and Successors, the Name, Stile and Title of *King of Ireland*; Whereas, before that time, the Kings of *England* were stiled but Lords of *Ireland*: Although indeed, they were absolute Monarchs thereof, and had in right all Royal and Imperial Jurisdiction and Power there, as they had in the Realm of *England*. And yet because in the vulgar conceit the name of *King* is higher than the name of *Lord*; assuredly the assuming of this Title, hath not

not a little raised the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England* in the minds of this people. And because it hath been doubted by some whether we might Lawfully fight against the *Irish*, I shall (for farther satisfaction) here insert the Right and Title the Crown of *England* hath to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as to every part of it, and to the whole divers ways.

I will begin with the Pedigree of *Title to William Earl Marshal*, for thereupon depend many Records in *Ireland*, and the King of *Englands* Right to *Leinster*. *Walter Fitz Richard*, who came from *Normandy* with *William the Conqueror*, died Lord *Strongbow* of *Strigule*, alias *Chepstow* without Issue, to whom succeeded his Sisters Son, who was created the first Earl of *Pembroke*, and had Issue, *Richard* the inheritor of *Leinster*, by a Covenant and Marriage of *Eva*, the Sole Daughter of *Mas Murrrough* King of *Leinster*. This *Richard* conveyed to *Henry* the Second all his Title, and held of him the Lordship of *Leinster* in four Counties, *Wexford*,  
I 2 *Cather-*

*Catherlagh, Oßory and Kildare. Richard* left Issue, a Daughter *Isabel*, married to *William* Earl *Marshal* of *England*, now Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Strongbow*, and Lord of *Leinster*. *William* had Issue, five Sons, who died without Issue, when every of them, except the youngest, had successively possessed their Fathers Lands; and five Daughters, *Maud*, *Jone*, *Isabel*, *Sibil* and *Eve*, among whom the Patrimony was parted *Anno 31. H. 3.* Of these Daughters bestowed in Marriage, are descended many Noble Houses, as the *Mortimers*, *Bruises*, *Clares*, &c. born Subjects to the Crown of *England*, paying ever to the King his Duties reserved.

Title to  
Meth.

*Hugh de Lacy* Conquerour of *Meth*, had Issue, *Walter de Lacy*, who held the same of King *John*, paying a Fine of four thousand Marks Sterling, and hence began all the several Claims there, with Allegiance sworn and done by their Ancestors.

Title to  
Mounster.

At the very first arrival of *Henry* the Second, the Princes of *Mounster* came



came universally, and did homage voluntarily, and acknowledged to him and his Heirs, Duties and pays for ever.

*John de Courcy* Conquerour and Earl of *Ulster*, dyed without Issue, King *John*, Lord of *Ireland*, gave the Earldome to *Hugh de Lacy*, who who had Issue, *Walter* and *Hugh*, who died without Issue, and one Daughter married to *Reymond Burke*, Conquerour and Lord of *Connaght*. Title to  
Ulster &  
Connaght

*Connaght* descended to divers Heirs, owing service to the Prince, but *Ulster* returned by devolution to the special Inheritance and the Revenues of the Crown of *England*, in this manner; The said *de Burgo*, had Issue, *Richard*, who had Issue, *John*, who had Issue *William*, who was slain without Issue, and a Daughter *Elizabeth*, entitled to thirty thousand Marks yearly, by the Earldome of *Ulster*, whom *Edward* the Third gave in marriage to *Lionel* his second Son, Duke of *Clarence*, who had Issue a Daughter *Philippe*, married to *Edward Mortimer*,

## The present State

timer, who had Issue *Edmund, Anne, Elianor*; *Edmund* and *Elianor* died without Issue, *Anne* was married to *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of *York*; fifth Son to *Edward* the Third; which said *Richard* had Issue, *Richard Plantaginet*, Father to *Edward* the Fourth, Father to *Elizabeth*, Wife to *Henry* the Seventh, and Mother to *Henry* the Eighth, Father to *Mary*, *Edward* the Sixth, and *Elizabeth*.

## Several Claims to the Land of Ireland.

Several  
claims to  
the Land  
of Ireland.

1. *Mac Gil-murrow* King of *Ireland*, with all his Petty Princes, Lords and Captains, summoned to King *Arthurs* Court held in *Carlion* Anno 519. did accordingly their homage, and attended all the while his great Feast and Assembly lasted.
2. The Monarch of all *Ireland*, and all other, both *Reges* and *Reguli* for them and for theirs for ever, betook themselves to *Henry* the Second An. Dom. 1172. namely those of the South, whiles he lay at *Waterford*,  
*Dermot*

*Dermot K. of Corke*, which is the Nation of the *Mac Cartyes*, at *Cashel*, *Donald K. of Limrick*, which is the Nation of the *Obrenes*, *Donald K. of Offory*, *Mac Shaghlon King of Ophaly*, at *Divelin* did the like, *Okernel King of Uriel*, *Ororick King of Meth*, *Roderick King of all Ireland*, and of *Connaght*. This did they with consents and shouts of their People; and King *Henry* returned without any Battle given. Only *Ulster* remained, which *John de Courcy* soon after conquered, and *Oneale* Captain of all the *Irish* there, came to *Dublin* to *Richard the Second*, *An. 1399.* and freely bound himself by Oath and great Sums of Money, to be true to the Crown of *England*.

3. The same time *O Brien* of *Thomond*, *Oconar* of *Connaght*, *Arthur Mac Murrow* of *Leinster*, and all the *Irish* Lords which had been somewhat disordered, renewed their Obedience.

4. When *Ireland* first received the Christian Faith, they gave themselves into the Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal, of the See of

*Rome.* The Temporal Lordship, Pope *Adrian* conferred upon *Henry* the Second, and he gave the same to *John* his younger Son, afterwards King of *England*, and so it returned home to the Crown.

5. *Alexander* the Third confirmed the Gift of *Adrian* as in both their Charters is expressed at large.

6. *Vivian* the Legate on the Popes behalf did Accurse and Excommunicate all those that fell from the Obeysance of the Kings of *England*:

7. The Clergy twice Assembled, once at *Cashell*, secondly at *Armagh*, plainly determined the Conquest to be Lawful, and threatnad all people, under pain of Gods, and holy Churches indignation, to accept of the *English* Kings for their Lords, from time to time.

8. It would ask a Volume to recite the Name of such *Irish* Princes, who since the Conquest have continually, upon Occasions, Revolts, or Petitions, sworn Truth and Faith to the Kings of *England*; and from time to time received Honors, Wages, Fees,  
Par-

Pardons, and made Petitions. And thus I think no reasonable man will doubt of a Right so old, so continued, so ratified, and so many ways confessed.

The Kings Revenue in Ireland was spent and wholly exhausted in the publick service; and therefore, in all the ancient Pipe-Rolls in the times of King *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the First, *Edward* the Second, and *Edward* the Third, between the Receipts and Allowances, there is this entrie; *In Thesaurio nihil*. For the Officers of the State and the Army, spent all; so, as there was no surplusage of Treasure; And here I may well take occasion, to shew the vanity of that which is reported in the Story of *Walsingham*, touching the Revenue of the Crown in Ireland, which he saith did amount to thirty thousand Pounds a year, in the time of King *Edward* the Third.

If this Writer had known, that the Kings Courts had been established in Ireland more than a hundred years before King *Edward* the Third

was born, or had seen either the Parliament Rolls in *England*, or the Records of the Receits and Issues in *Ireland*, he had not left this vain report to Posterity, for both the Benches and Exchequer were erected in the twelfth year of King *John*. And it is Recorded in the Parliament Rolls of 21. of *Edward* the Third, remaining in the Tower, that the Commons of *England* made Petition that it might be enquired why the King received no benefit of his Land in *Ireland*, considering he possessed more there, than any of his Ancestors had before him. Now, if the King at that time, when there were no standing Forces maintained there, had received thirty thousand pounds yearly at his Exchequer in *Ireland*, he must needs have made profit by that Land, considering that the whole charge of the Kingdome in the 47th year of *Edward* the Third (when the King did pay an Army there) did amount to no more than eleven thousand and two hundred pounds *per Annum*, as appeareth by the Contract of *William Winsore*.

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Besides it is manifest by the Pipe-Rolls of that time, whereof many are yet preserved in *Breminghams* Tower; and are of better credit than any Monks story, that during the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the Revenue of the Crown of *Ireland*, both certain and casual, did not rise unto ten thousand pound *per Annum*, though the medium be taken of the best seven years that are be found in that Kings time. The like Fable hath *Hollingshead*, touching the Revenue of the Earldome of *Ulster*; which (saith he) in the time of King *Richard* the Second, was thirty thousand Marks by the year; Whereas in truth, though the Lordships of *Connaght* and *Meath* (which were then parcel of the Inheritance of the Earl of *Ulster*) be added to the Accompt, the Revenue of that Earldome came not to the third part of that he writeth. For the Accompt of the Profits of *Ulster* yet remaining in *Breminghams* Tower, made by *William Fitz-Warren*, Seneschall and Farmer of the Lands in *Ulster*, seized into

into the Kings hands after the death of *Walter de Burgo*, Earl of *Ulster*, from the fifth year of *Edward* the Third, until the eighth year, do amount but to nine hundred and odd pounds, at what time the *Irishry* had not made so great an invasion upon Earldome of *Ulster*, as they had done in the time of King *Richard* the Second.

As vain a thing it is, that hath been seen written in an ancient Manuscript touching the Customes of *Ireland* in the time of King *Edward* the Third, that those duties in those days should yearly amount to ten thousand Marks, which to search and view of the Records there, can justly be controlled. For upon the late reducing (about the beginning of King *James* his Reign) of this ancient Inheritance of the Crown which had been deteined in most of the Port-Towns of that Realm, for the space of one hundred years and upwards, some pains being taken to visit all the Pipe Rolls, wherein the Accompts of Customs are contained, those duties were found to be

*The Customs of  
Ireland of  
little value  
till King  
James his  
Reign be-  
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per An.*



be answered in every Port, for two hundred and fifty years together, but could not find that at any time they did exceed a thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and no marvel, for the Subsidy Poundage was not then known, and the greatest profit did arise by the Cocquet of Hides; for Wooll and Wooll-fells were ever of little value in that Kingdome till of late.

The Profit of the Custome-house *The Customs of Ireland* in the last year of King *James* his Reign did amount to thirty thousand Pounds *per Annum*; And *advanced to 30000l.* what great improvements were *per An. in* made thereof by the Earl of *Strafford* the last year of *K. James* his Reign. I cannot find, because they fell together with him; But what that branch of the Revenue now comes to, together with the rest paid yearly to his Majesties Exchequer in *Ireland*, I shall here render a particular account of, (which at first view (considering that Countrey is not yet half Planted with People) may be much wondred at. But when I call to mind Sir *Andley Mervyns* express-

preffions (Speaker of the House of Commons in *Ireland*) delivered in a Speech of his to his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdome, *Feb. 13. 1662.* being these, *viz. That they did understand the usual proceedings of Parliaments, to begin at Grievances, and to conclude with Supplies:* But that they had inverted that Order, by applying themselves in the first place to the settling a constant Revenue for his Majesty, and granting other Temporary Aides far above their Abilities, though far less than what his Majesties goodness might challenge from them; then the wonder ceases; for as I have already observ'd, while the Popish *Irish* party bore sway in the Publick Assemblies of that Realm, they appeared averse, not only to contribute towards the Publick Charge (unless upon their own Terms) though the occasions were never so urgent, and they in a condition more able to discharge the same than now of late; But repented themselves of those good Acts they had once consented to in this kind,

kind: in order to his Majesties Service, which they evidently expressed by their forward accepting the abatement of the fore-mentioned Subsidies in the Earl of *Straffords* time, from forty thousand Pounds each Subsidy, to twelve thousand pounds a piece; An Act far different from the behaviour of those Loyal *English* hearts in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who contributed so freely to supply her Majesties necessities in the Publick Concern, as that sometimes she refused their kindneses, accounting the Money in the purses of her good Subjects, to be as ready for her Service (when occasion required) as if they had been lock'd up in her own Coffers.

The particulars of his Majesties present Revenue in *Ireland*, according to the Demise made by King *Charles* the Second to *John Forth* and his Partners by Indenture, bearing date *July* 12. 1669. are as followeth, viz. His Revenue arising by Hearth-Money, Licenses to Retail Wine, and Strong-Waters, the New Quit-Rents

*The particulars of his Majesties present Revenue in Ireland amounting to 219500l.*

Rents given to his Majesty by the Acts of Settlement, and Explanation; the Chief Rents, Fee Farm Rents, Rent-Service, Rent-Charge, Rents Sec, Rents reserved upon Leases exceeding one and twenty years, Copy hold, and all other ancient Crown Rents set for seven years, commencing at *Christmas* 1668. rendring yearly for the same, ninety one thousand and five hundred Pounds. And his Majesties Revenue arising by Customes and imported Excise; set for six years commencing at *Christmas* An. 1669. rendering yearly seventy five thousand Pounds. And his Majesties Revenue arising by Inland Excise, and by Licenses to retaile Ale and Beer; set for four years and three quarters from *March* 25. 1671. rendering yearly fifty three thousand Pounds for the first four years, and thirty nine thousand seven hundred and fifty three thousand Pounds during the last three quarters; amounting in the whole yearly, to two hundred nineteen thousand five hundred Pounds. The Grant made to the  
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Lord *Ranelagh* of all the Revenue of *Ireland*, continues to *Decemb. 26. 1675*. So that by this we may see in part, what hopeful advantages are like in time to accrew to the Crown of *England*, by having *Ireland* for the most part) inhabited by Protestant *British* Planters, whose Loyalty and Industry, will (I make no doubt) cause that Kingdome to become in a short time, a most flourishing Countrey.

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A Table

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A Table for Reducing Plantation Acres into *English*;  
and Ascertaining the Kings Rent in the several Provinces of  
*IRELAND*, according to the Explanatory Act: *viz.*]

For every *English* }  
Statute Acre in the }  
Province of }  
*Leinster* 3 d.  
*Munster* 2 d. ob.  
*Connaght* 1 d. q.  
*Ulster* 2 d.

Irish. English Acres.			<i>Leinster.</i>			<i>Munster.</i>			<i>Ulster.</i>			<i>Connaght.</i>		
<i>Ir. A.</i>	<i>En. A.</i>	<i>R. P.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>
1	1	2	0	4	3	0	3	3	0	3	1	0	2	2
2	3	0	0	9	3	0	7	1	0	6	2	0	4	3
3	4	3	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	9	3	0	7	3

1 36 84 1 7 2 1 2 2 1 1 0 0 9 3  
1 1 36 84 1 7 2 1 2 2 1 1 0 0 9 3



21	34	0	2	78	8	6	0	6	4	2	5	8	0	4	3	0
22	33	2	21	99	8	103	3	8	8	1	5	5	2	4	5	2
23	37	1	0	120	9	3	3	11	11	0	6	5	0	4	8	0
24	38	3	20	20	9	8	2	3	3	2	6	5	3	4	10	1
25	40	1	39	41	10	1	2	7	7	0	7	9	0	5	3	1
26	42	0	18	62	10	6	1	10	7	3	7	0	1	5	5	2
27	43	2	37	83	10	11	1	2	8	2	7	3	2	5	5	0
28	45	1	16	104	11	4	0	6	8	0	7	6	3	5	8	0
29	46	3	36	4	11	9	0	9	8	3	7	10	0	5	10	2
30	48	2	15	25	12	1	3	1	9	1	8	1	1	6	1	0
31	50	0	34	46	12	2	3	5	9	0	8	4	1	6	3	1
32	51	3	13	67	12	11	0	8	9	3	8	7	3	6	5	3
33	53	1	32	88	13	4	1	10	10	1	8	11	0	6	8	1
34	55	0	11	109	13	9	1	10	10	0	8	2	1	6	10	2
35	56	2	31	9	14	2	0	10	10	2	9	5	2	7	1	0
36	58	1	10	30	14	7	0	11	10	1	9	8	3	7	3	2
37	59	3	29	51	14	11	3	11	11	3	9	11	3	7	3	0





55	89	0	14	66	1	2	3	1	168	2	14	101	112	3
56	90	2	13	87	1	2	8	1	170	0	15	1	114	0
57	92	1	12	108	1	3	1	0	173	3	15	4	116	2
58	93	3	32	8	1	3	5	3	177	2	15	8	119	0
59	95	2	11	29	1	3	10	3	171	10	15	11	111	1
60	97	0	30	50	1	4	3	2	182	3	16	2	121	3
61	98	3	9	71	1	4	8	2	186	1	16	5	124	1
62	100	1	2	92	1	5	1	1	181	00	16	9	126	3
63	102	0	7	113	1	5	6	1	191	2	17	0	129	0
64	103	2	27	13	1	5	11	0	195	1	17	3	121	12
65	105	1	6	34	1	6	3	3	199	0	17	6	132	0
66	106	3	25	55	1	6	8	3	0	0	17	9	134	1
67	108	2	4	76	1	7	1	2	0	4	1	8	136	3
68	110	0	23	97	1	7	6	2	0	7	3	8	139	1
69	111	3	2	118	1	7	11	1	0	11	2	8	131	13
70	113	1	22	18	1	8	4	1	1	3	1	8	242	0
71	115	0	1	39	1	8	9	0	1	6	3	9	144	2

72	116	2	20	60	1	9	2	0	1	100	195	1	147	0
	118	0	30	81	1	9	6	3	1	2	0	198	149	1

72	116	2	20	60	1	9	2	0	1	1	100	195	147	0
73	118	0	39	81	1	9	6	3	1	1	2	198	149	1
74	119	3	18	102	1	9	11	2	1	2	5	1911	1411	3
75	121	1	38	2	1	10	4	2	1	2	9	0	153	1
76	123	0	17	23	1	10	9	1	1	3	1	0	154	3
77	124	2	36	44	1	11	2	1	1	3	4	0	157	0
78	126	1	15	65	1	11	7	0	1	3	8	2	159	2
79	127	3	34	86	1	11	11	3	1	3	11	3	160	0
80	129	2	13	107	1	12	4	3	1	4	3	0	162	1
81	131	0	33	7	1	12	9	2	1	4	7	1	164	3
82	132	3	12	28	1	13	2	2	1	4	10	2	167	1
83	134	1	31	49	1	13	7	1	1	5	2	3	169	3
84	136	0	10	70	1	14	0	1	1	5	6	0	170	0
85	137	2	29	91	1	14	5	0	1	5	9	1	172	2
86	139	1	8	112	1	14	9	3	1	6	1	2	175	0
87	140	3	28	12	1	15	2	3	1	6	5	3	177	1
88	142	2	7	33	1	15	7	3	1	6	8	3	179	3





850	1376	3	17	63	17	042	2	12	182	0	11	9	5	3	8	121	1
900	1457	3	16	24	18	045	2	13	134	1	12	2	11	3	9	2	3
950	1538	3	14	106	19	04	2	14	8	2	12	16	5	3	9	124	1
1000	1619	3	13	67	20	041	2	15	3	2	13	9	11	3	10	2	3
1506	2429	3	0	40	30	075	1	22	157	0	20	4	11	2	15	3	2
2000	3239	2	27	13	40	091	1	30	7	1	26	19	11	2	29	4	2
2500	4049	2	13	107	50	124	3	37	193	2	33	14	11	1	25	6	1
3000	4857	2	0	8	60	141	2	45	111	2	40	9	11	0	39	7	0
3500	5669	1	27	53	70	173	1	53	8	0	47	4	11	0	35	8	0
4000	6479	1	14	26	80	191	0	60	14	10	53	19	10	3	40	9	0
4500	7129	1	0	120	91	023	3	68	6	8	60	14	10	3	45	11	1
5000	8099	0	17	38	101	049	2	75	18	7	67	9	10	2	50	12	4
5500	8909	0	14	66	111	073	1	83	10	5	74	4	10	1	55	13	7
6000	7919	0	01	39	121	099	0	91	2	3	80	19	10	1	60	14	10
6500	10528	3	28	42	131	122	3	98	14	2	87	14	10	0	65	16	1
7000	11338	3	14	106	141	148	2	106	6	0	94	9	10	0	70	17	3
8000	12058	28	28	52	151	198	0	121	9	2	107	19	9	2	80	19	9

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9900	14728	0	01	119	181	04	3	121	9	9	101	04	3	1
10000	16198	1	15	15	202	09	7	134	19	9	101	04	9	0
11000	17818	0	29	11	222	14	6	143	9	8	111	07	2	3
12000	19438	0	02	78	242	19	6	161	19	8	121	09	8	2
13000	21057	3	16	24	261	04	1	175	9	8	131	12	2	0
14000	22677	2	28	91	281	09	1	188	19	7	141	14	7	3
15000	24297	2	63	37	303	14	4	202	9	7	151	17	2	2
20000	32396	2	31	89	404	19	2	269	19	6	202	09	6	0
30000	48595	0	06	74	607	08	9	404	19	3	303	14	3	0
40000	64793	1	12	18	809	18	4	339	19	0	404	19	0	0
50000	80991	2	37	83	1012	07	11	674	18	9	506	03	9	0

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*Strength.* Seeing the *Irish Nation* (by reason of their barbarous Laws and Customs) could never upon their own score put themselves in any hopeful way of effecting a Commonwealth in *Ireland*, either before, or since the Conquest of it by *K. Henry the Second*; And that it is most evident (unless they were bred under, and protected by the *English Laws and Government*) they had never been otherwise looked upon in the World but as a mean and despicable people. I shall therefore (since a true measure of the strength of *Ireland* must be taken upon an *English* account) here briefly relate, by what ways and means the *English* (since the beginning of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, and a little before) did again extend their power and interest in *Ireland*, beyond their narrow Limits of the *English Pale*.

*The manner how the English did again extend their bounds beyond the narrow Limits of the English Pale since the beginning of Q. Elizabeths reign and a little before.*

1. Viz. By the Rebellion of the Moors and Conjurors in the Reign of Ed. 6. and Q. Mary.

1. In the first place, I find that *Sir Edward Bellingham* being Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in *King Edward the Sixths* time, was the first Deputy since the Reign of *King Edward the Third*, that by a Martial course

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extended the border beyond the Limits of the *English Pale*, by beating and breaking the *Moors* and *Connors*, and building the *Ports* of *Leix* and *Offaly*; To which work, *Thomas Earl of Suffex*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in *Queen Marys* Reign, did put the last hand to; who having rooted out these two *Rebellious Septs*, planted *English Colonies* in their rooms, which in all the tumultuous times ever since kept their *Habitations*, their *Loyalty*, and *Religion*, unless destroyed by the last *Rebellion An. 1641.*

2. In the five and twentieth year <sup>2. By the</sup> of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, *Anno* <sup>Rebellion</sup> 1583 that infamous Rebel and <sup>of the Earl</sup> Traytor to his Countrey *Girald fitz* <sup>of Des-</sup> *Girald*, or *Giraldides*, the eleventh <sup>mond Ap.</sup> Earl of *Desmond* of his Family, when 1583. his men were consumed with Famine and Sword, (which had barbarously vowed to forswear God before they would forsake him) and when he had escaped the hands of the Victorious *English*, almost two years, by lurking in uncertain corners, was now by a common Sol-

dier found in a little Cottage, and unknown, till having his Arm almost cut off, he discovered himself, and was slain, being run through the body in many places, his head being sent over into *England*, was fixed upon a pole on *London Bridge*; and had this most powerful man in *Ireland*, who derived his Pedigree from *Maurice fitz Girald* of *Windsor*, an *Englishman*, most renowned amongst the first Conquerors of *Ireland* in the year 1170. He had goodly Lands and Possessions, yea whole Provinces, with *Kerry*, a County-Palatine, and very many Castles, and a number of Tenements, and Adherents, and of his own Stock and Sir-name he had about five hundred Gentlemen at his Devotion. Of all which, and of his life also, he was dispoyled within three years, very few of the Family being left, after he had broken his Allegiance to his Prince through the perswasion of certain Priests, amongst whom the chieftest of all was *Nicholas Sanders* an *Englishman*, who almost at the same instant was most

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miserably famished to death, who being forsaken of all company, and troubled in mind for the adverse success of the Rebellion, he wandered up and down through Woods, Forests and Hills, and found no comfort. In his Pouch were found certain Orationes and Epistles written to confirm the Rebels, stuffed with large promises from the Bishop of Rome, and the Spaniard. By the downfall of this great Earl, and his Adherents, there fell such a great proportion of Land to the Crown, in the Counties of Cork, Kerry, and and Limrick, as gave occasion to a brave English Plantation to be settled in those Southern parts of Ireland in the Reigns of King James, and King Charles the first.

3. In the twenty seventh year of Queen Elizabeths Reign Anno 1585. Edmund Burgh of Castle Barry with his Sons and Adherents, namely the Clan-Gibbons, Clandonells, and Jeyes, all of the Province of Connaght, after they had drawn the Scots to their assistance, and done the Countrey a great deal of mischief by their Re-

3. By the Rebellion of Edm. Burgh of Castle-Barry An. 1585.

bellion, were taken and condemned for Treason; by means whereof there was a good portion of Land got to renew an *English* Colony in the Province of *Connaght*.

By the  
Rebellion  
of Hugh  
Roe-Mac  
Mahone a  
great Lord  
in Ulster.  
An. 1590.

4. In the one and thirtieth year of her Reign Anno 1590. by the Rebellion of *Hugh Roe-Mac Mahon*, a great Lord in the Territory of *Maghan* in *Ulster*, for that he had with Banners displayed and exacted of his people Contributions due according to the barbarous manner of the Countrey, being condemn'd and hanged, his most large Lands, and Livings were divided betwixt the *English*, and certain of the *Mac Mahons*, to hold the same (paying certain yearly Rent to the Queen) according to the Laws of *England*: and this to the end, that they might weaken that Family, strong and powerful of Tenants and Adherents, and blot out the Tyranny of *Mac Mahone* together with Title. For by this Title, those of that Family waxed insolent, which by right or wrong took upon them the denomination. Hereupon *Brion O-Rerke* a great

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great Lord in the neighbour Countrey of *Brenn* ( and one who marvellously favoured and affected the *Spaniards* ) fearing lest the same might befall him, took Arms against the Queen, but being hunted into *Scotland*, was very willingly delivered by King *James* to Queen *Elizabeth*, who was Arraigned *Anno* 1591. in *Westminster Hall*; for that he had excited and harboured *Alexander Mac Connell* and others against the Queen; had commanded the Queens Picture painted in a Table, to be hung at a horses taile, and hurried about in scorn, and disgracefully cut in pieces; had entertained into his house certain *Spaniards*, which were Shipwrecked, contrary to the Lord Deputies Proclamation; had burnt down to Ashes the Houses of the Queens faithful Subjects by his Incendiaries; had slain many of them, and had offered *Ireland* into the possession of the King of *Scots*. Sentence of death being pronounced upon him, after a few days, he suffered a Traytors death at Tiburn with a most obstinate mind. This

Traytors Land did also farther contribute towards the resetting of an *English* Plantation in the North of *Ireland*.

5. By the  
designed  
Rebellion  
and flight  
of the Earl  
of Tyrone  
and his Ad-  
herents  
An. 1609.

5. In the sixth year of King *James* his Reign, being Anno 1609. The Earl of *Tyrone*, and *Tirconnel*; Sir *John O'Dougherty* and other great men of the North, possessed of large Territories and great Jurisdictions, conteining in the whole six Counties; who being both incapable of Loyalty, and impatient of seeing the Kings Judges, Justices, and other Ministers of State, to hold their Sessions, and execute their Commissions of *Oyre and Terminer* within the parts where they commanded; out of a guilty conscience (having laid the foundation of a Rebellion, but not being able to bring the same to effect) forsook the Countrey, and went into *Spain*, leaving their whole Estates to the Kings disposal; By whose directions their Lands were seized upon, and sold to several Purchasers, the City of *London* enfeoffed in a great part of them; a great Plantation made

made in *Ulster* of *English*, *Welch* and *Scots*, by the united name of *British Plantation*; By means whereof, the foundations of some good Towns (whereof *London* was one) soon after encompassed with Stone walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of strength built in several parts of the Countrey, and great numbers of *British* Inhabitants settled there to the great comfort and security of the Kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace of the Countrey, in the Plantation of several parts of *Leinster*, where the *Irish* had made incursions and violently expelled the Old *English* out of their Possessions. And though the King was by due course of Law justly entitled to all their whole Estates there; yet he was graciously pleased, to take but one fourth part of their Lands, which was delivered over likewise into the hands of the *British* undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly, as they became of great security to the Countrey,

they, and were a most special means to introduce civility in those parts; so as now the whole Kingdome began exceedingly to flourish in costly Buildings, and all manner of improvements, the people to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seemed to be much satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable Government and general tranquility which they so happily enjoyed.

6. By the purchase of happy peace (which lasted about great quantities of Land by the Eng. in Ireland. during the last forty years peace.
6. During the continuance of this forty years) divers *English* purchased great quantities of Land in *Ireland*, to plant upon.
7. And last of all, by that universal, and most bloody Rebellion in the year 1441. the *Irish* propriety (except a few) of all the Lands and Towns in the Provinces of *Munster*, *Leinster* and *Ulster*, became forfeited, and was (as I said) disposed of between the Soldiers, Adventurers, and forty nine men. Large proportions of Land were also purchased (about the same time) by the *English* in the Province of *Connaght*, from the transplanted *Irish* at Lough-  
reagh



*reagh* and *Athlone*: so that upon the whole matter (according to this account) the *Irish* have, by their desperate & bloody endeavours of rooting the *English* wholly out of *Ireland*, dispossessed themselves and their posterity, out of above three parts of four of the whole propriety thereof; and therefore afforded the *English* opportunity and advantage to establish (for the future) such a firm settlement therein, as they could never expect or hope for, unless by such an inhumane and unparalleled provocation.

Besides those particular advantages the *English* have obtained by these their late vast acquisitions in *Ireland* (whereof a hint before) As namely by having already upon the matter a sufficient number of able Protestants to serve as Parliament men, High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Grand and Petty Juries in most Counties in *Ireland*; This one benefit more will be of no small moment to them; which is, that by their enjoying such plentiful Estates in that Realm, they will thereby the better enabled to breed up a sufficient

*That the English by their late vast acquisitions in Ireland, will be the better enabled thereby to breed up able Protestants, Lawyers & Divines for the service of the Church & State of Ireland to the great strengthening of the Civil Government.*

ficient number of Learned Protestant Lawyers and Divines to serve the Publick; which will very much tend to the strengthening of the Civil Government of that Kingdom; A considerable part of the Profits whereof (while in the possession of the *Irish*) being disposed of for the carrying on of the forreign Education, they most perniciously employed to the ruine of their own Countrey.

*That the Romish Clergy and the Popish Lawyers were great instruments in the first plotting & carrying on the Rebellion An. 1641.*

For it was observed, that there were two sorts of persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main Fundamentals whereupon the bloody Superstructures of the last Rebellion, were afterwards easily reared up: And these were such of the Popish Lawyers as were Natives of the Kingdome, and those of the *Romish* Clergy of several degrees and orders. For the first, they had in regard of their Knowledge in the Laws of the Land, very great reputation and trust, they now began to stand up like great Patriots for the vindication of the liberties of the Subject, and redress of their

their pretended grievances: and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the House of Commons then sitting at *Dublin*, some of them did there Magisterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of Law, the pernicious speculations of their own brain; which though plainly discerned to the full virulency and tending to Sedition, yet so strangely were many of the Protestants and well meaning men in the House blinded with an apprehension of ease and redress, and so stupified with their bold accusations of the Government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their fond Assertions; so as what they spake was received with great acclamation, and much applause by most of the Protestant Members of the House; many of which, under specious pretenses of publick Zeal to that that Countrey, they had inveigled into their party: And then it was, that having impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, of High Treason, together with the prime Officers

*The Irish Lawyers drew a great party in the house of Commons to adhere to them.*

cers and Ministers of State that were of *English* birth: some of those great Masters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new Expositions of their own upon the Text, to frame their Queries, challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully, overgrown misgovernment, than to be made against an Authority, that had for many years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn people, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued distempers of the Kingdom: They disdained the moderate qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the Law and duty to their Sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn, they resolved upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compass in a Parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparatives there, and delivered such desperate Maxims, which  
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being diffused abroad, would fit and dispose the people to a change: As they declared it to be Law, that being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of Record, would give the King no forfeiture of Estate; that though many thousands stood up in Arms in a Kingdom, *The Irish Lawyers offer'd to maintain absurd positions in point of Law, to promote the Rebellion* working all manner of destruction, yet if they professed not to rise against the King, that it was no Rebellion: That if a man were Outlaw'd for Treason, and his land thereby vested in the Crown, or given away by the King, his Heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the Outlawry, and recover his Ancestors Estate. And many other positions of perilous consequence, tending to sedition and disturbance, did they continue to publish during that Session, and by the power and strength of their party, so far did they prevail at last, as they, presumed to attempt a suspension of *Poynings* Act, and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greatest ties and best monuments

ments the *English* have of their entire dominion over the *Irish* Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the Imperial Crown of *England*. They farther assumed power of Jurisdiction to the Parliament in Criminal and Capital Offences: a Right which no former age hath left any president for, neither would this admit the Example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Session of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two months before the first breaking out of the last Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that then they were adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high Crime against the Lords Justices, and as one of the chief moving causes to the taking up of Arms generally, throughout the Kingdom.

But to let these things pass, how finely soever these proceedings were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of Zeal and publick affection, passed then currant without any manner of suspicion; yet now the eyes of all men are open, and

and they are fully resolved that all these passages, together with the other high contestations in Parliament, not to have the newly raised Irish Army disbanded, the importunate solicitation of their Agents in England, to have the old Army in Ireland cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by the Trained Bands of their own Nation. As likewise the Commissions procured by several of the most eminent Commanders afterwards in Rebellion, for the raising men to carry into Spain, were all parts of the Plot, Prologues to the ensuing Tragedy; Preparatives, such as had been long laid to bring on the sodain execution of that most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the Kingdom.

*The fair, but pernicious presences of the Irish fully discovered by their Rebellions Anno 1641.*

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Fryars all the rest of their Viperous Fraternity belonging to their Holy Orders; who, as I said, had a main part to Act, and did not fail with great assiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time but most dexterously applyed themselves

*The means used by the Priests and Jesuits to stir up the people to Rebel.*

selves in all parts of the Countrey to lay other such dangerous impressions in the minds, as well of the meaner sort, as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well faile, and the day once perfix'd for Execution; they did in their publick Devotions long before, recommend by their Prayers, the good success of a great Design, much tending to the prosperity of the Kingdome, and the advancement of the Catholick Cause. And for the facilitating of the work, and stirring up of the people with greater animosity and cruelty to put it on at the time perfix'd; they loudly in all places declaimed against the Protestants; telling the people that they were Hereticks, and not to be suffer'd any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an *English-man*, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they

repre-



represented with much acrimony, the several courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for suppressing of the *Romish* Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, and utter extirpation of all Professors of it. They told the people that in *England* they had caused the Queens Priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her Majesty in her own person under a most severe discipline; That the same cruel Laws against Popery were ordered to be put suddenly in execution in *Ireland*; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal Noble men and Gentlemen in *Ireland* upon November 23. next ensuing; and so to make a general Massacre of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and antient animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters, under whose Government; how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous

*The Irish revive their antient animosities against the English.*

geous so ever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable Captivity and Envasallage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the Natives) as their own proper Inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair *English* Cattel; at their goodly Houses; though built by their own industry at their own charges; at the large improvements they made of their Estates, by their own travels and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorne and contempt of such as brought like with them into *Ireland*, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great Fortunes. They were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countries, to see the *English* live handsomly, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in mire and filthiness, the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their Cattle into their  
own

own stinking Creates or Cabins, and there naturally delighting to lie amongst them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately gone over in that Kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation would now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they took to be the ancient Proprietors, and only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they held to have made undue acquisitions of all the Land they possessed by gift from the Crown, upon attainder of any of their Ancestors.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their Religion, as well as disburthen the Countrey of all the *British* Inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several Members as persons altogether corrupt

*The Ends  
proposed by  
the first  
plotters of  
the Rebellion.*

rupt and ill affected ; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the Kingdome to be grown into that height as required Cauteries, deep incisions ; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the Disease, as appears by all the Symptoms, and the joynt concurrence in opinion of all the great Physicians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications to so disparate a Malady. And thus we see those persons, who by the advantage of their Education, and duty of Profession, should have been the great lights to direct the footsteps of the unwary and giddy-headed multitude, to walk steddily in the right path of Obedience and Loyalty to their Prince, and of Love and Charity towards their Neighbours, by a notorious abuse of the same, did wilfully mislead them to ruine and destruction.

*The Establishment  
of the Army  
in Ireland  
An. 1669.*

Come we now to take a view of the standing Army in *Ireland*, according to the Establishment made in the

the year 1669. which did then consist of thirty Troops of Horse (including the Life-Guard) and sixty Foot Companies besides the Regiments of Guards, in which were twelve Companies.

The Life-Guard did consist of a hundred Men besides Officers, and each of the other twenty nine Troops consisted of forty five men besides Officers, only the Troops belonging to the general Officers, had each of them fifty Men besides Officers; viz. the Lord Lieutenants, the Lieutenant Generals, the Major Generals, the Commissary Generals, and the Scout-Master Generals; Each Company in the Regiment of Guards did consist of an hundred Men, besides Officers, and each of the aforesaid sixty Companies consisted of sixty Men, besides Officers: the whole Standing Army in *Ireland* amounting then to 1598 Horse, and 4250 Foot; The yearly pay of the whole Army with Horse and Foot Guards, amounted to 140664 *l.* 8 *s.* 6 *d.*

In the Militia of *Ireland*, there  
L are

*The Militia of Ireland.*

are 103 Troops of Horse, 127 Companies of Foot; by the instructions from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Commissioners of *Array* in each County, each Troop was to consist of 50 Men besides Officers, and every Company of 100 private Soldiers, the whole Militia of *Ireland* amounting to 5150 Horse, besides Officers, and 12700 Foot, besides Officers.

Since the aforesaid Establishment made in 1669. there have been several Reducements and alterations in the Army of *Ireland*, and as it admits of more, so it will be more than difficult to be exact in particulars. This being premised, I shall

*A caution against training the Irish to the Feats of Arms, as being of ill consequence to the English Interest in Ireland.*

proceed to tell the Reader, that hence forwards there will be no more need of training up the *Irish* (together with the *English*) in the Feats of Arms, which (as I hinted already) sorted very ill with the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, especially since the nine and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being An. 1587. In which year, Sir *John Perot* then Lord Deputy of *Ireland* being called

called home, and having delivered up his Charge to Sir *Will. Fitz-Williams* the appointed Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, it was observed, that till that time, the *English men* had very easie Wars in *Ireland*; eight hundred Foot and three hundred Horse was holden an Invincible Army. *Randolph*, with six hundred *English* easily discomfited *O-Neale* with four thousand *Irish*. *Colier*, in the year 1571. with his one onely Company defeated a thousand *Hebridanes* in *Connaght*. Three hundred Horse overthrew the *Butlers* with a great rabble of Rebels: and (to omit other such like) two Companies of Foot won in one day above twenty Castles of the *Irish*. But after they were by *Perots* commandment trained daily at home, taught to use their weapons, and discharge their Pieces at a Mark, that they might be the more ready Servitors against the *Hebridanes*, and afterwards being bred up in the *Netherland Wars*, they had learned the manner of fortifications; they then (and ever after) certainly exercised the *English* with a more

difficult War. This puts me in mind of another like passage I have read in a discription of *Novum Belgium*, or *New Netherland* in *America* (now called *New-Yorke*) where relating the story how upon complaint made by King *Charles* the first to the States of *Holland* (a little before the last unhappy Civil Wars in *England*) of some of the *Hollanders* inroaching upon some parts of his Territories in *Virginia*, then called *New-Netherland* (but now *New-Yorke*) the States having by publick Instrument utterly disclaimed any pretensions thereunto, the *Hollanders* then inhabiting there, did seem willing to be gone, and leave all they had there for the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds, yet taking advantage of the trouble which not long after followed in *England*; they not only raised their demands to a greater height; but furnished the Native *Indians* with Arms, and taught them how to use their Weapons. A most mischievous and wicked act, not only tending to the dammage, and discouragement of the then present Ad-



Adventurers, but even to the Ex-  
tirpation of all the Christians out of  
those Countries. But the best was,  
they were the first that smarted by  
it, the Savages thus Armed and  
Trained, fell foul upon them, de-  
stroying their Farm-houses, and for-  
cing them to betake themselves to  
their Forts, and Fortresses. How far  
the application of this Story may fit  
the Subject in hand as the matter  
stands in controversie, between the  
Protestant party, and Papists in  
*Ireland*, I refer to the consideration  
of the judicious Reader.

2

The manner of Electing Parlia-  
ment Men in this Kingdome, is the  
same with that in *England*, but the  
Acts are drawn up and pass'd diffe-  
rently, as also those in *Scotland*  
where the Lords of the Articles, af-  
ter the Parliament is met, prepare  
the Bills, but here the Lord Lieute-  
nant and Council usually draw up  
such Bills as they think fit, and  
transmit them to his Majesty, and  
Council in *England*, where they  
come under a new Debate, and  
if approved, returned back under

*Election.*

**The present State**

the Great Seal to the Lord Lieutenant, who offers them to the Parliament. Each House may reject them, or else must consent to them *in terminis* without any alteration. When any Bills are thus by both Houses agreed to, then they are presented to the Lord Lieutenant who gives the Royal Assent. The Law whereby the Houses are not trusted with the framing of their own Bills, is called *Poynings Law*, of which look back to page 106.

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A List

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# A List of what Places Returns Parliament Men in, IRELAND.

Com. <i>Ardmagh</i>	2	Bor. <i>Youghall</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Ardmagh</i>	2		16
Bor. of <i>Charlemont</i>	2	Com. <i>Cavan</i>	2
	6	Borough of <i>Cavan</i>	2
Com. <i>Antrim</i>	2	Bor. of <i>Belturbet</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Belfast</i>	2		6
Bor. of <i>Carickfergus</i>	2	Com. <i>Clare</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Lisbon</i>	2	Bor. of <i>Inish</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Antrim</i>	2		4
	10	Com. <i>Dublin</i>	2
Com. <i>Catherlaugh</i>	2	City of <i>Dublin</i>	2
Bor. <i>Catherlaugh</i>	2	Univer. of <i>Dublin</i>	3
Bor. <i>Old Leighlin</i>	2	Bor. of <i>Newcastle</i>	2
	6	Bor. of <i>Swords</i>	2
Com. <i>Corke</i>	2		11
City of <i>Corke</i>	2	Com. <i>Down</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Mallow</i>	2	Bor. <i>Down</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Baltimore</i>	2	Bor. <i>Newtown</i>	2
Bor. <i>Cloghnékilly</i>	2	Bor. <i>Newry</i>	2
Bor. <i>Bandon Bridge</i>	2	<i>Balkillaleagh</i>	2
Bor. <i>Kinsale</i>	2	Bor. <i>Bangor</i>	2
	1		Bor.
	4		

Bor. <i>Hilborough</i>	2	Bor. <i>St. Kennis</i>	2
	14	Civit. <i>Kilkenny</i>	2
Com. <i>Donegal</i>	2		16
Bor. <i>Lifford</i>	2	Com. <i>Kildare</i>	2
Bor. <i>Ballyshannon</i>	2	Bor. <i>Kildare</i>	2
Bor. <i>Killbeggs</i>	2	Bor. <i>Naas</i>	2
Bor. <i>Donegall</i>	2	Bor. <i>Athy</i>	2
Bor. <i>St. John's town</i>	2		8
	12	Com. <i>Regis</i>	2
Villa de <i>Drogheda</i>	2	Bor. <i>Philips town</i>	2
	2	Bor. <i>Banagher</i>	2
Com. <i>Gallway</i>	2		6
Bor. <i>Gallway</i>	2	Com. <i>Letrim</i>	2
Bor. <i>Athenry</i>	2	Bor. <i>James-town</i>	2
Bor. <i>Tnam</i>	2	Bor. <i>Carricdrumrask</i>	2
	8		6
Com. <i>Fermanagh</i>	2	Com. <i>Lymrick</i>	2
Bor. <i>Eniskilling</i>	2	Civit. <i>Lymrick</i>	2
	4	Bor. <i>Kilmallock</i>	2
Com. <i>Kerry</i>	2	Bor. <i>Askeaton</i>	2
Bor. <i>Traley</i>	2		8
Bor. <i>Dingleicough</i>	2	Com. <i>Longford</i>	2
Bor. <i>Ardfart</i>	2	Town of <i>Longford</i>	2
	8	Bor. <i>St. John's town</i>	2
Com. <i>Kilkenny</i>	2	Bor. <i>Lainsborough</i>	2
Bor. <i>Callen</i>	2		8
Bor. <i>Thomas town</i>	2	Com. <i>Louth</i>	2
Bor. <i>Gowran</i>	2	Bor. <i>Carlingford</i>	2
Bor. <i>Emisteoge</i>	2	Bor. <i>Dundalke</i>	2
Bor. <i>Knoctopher</i>	2		

Bor.

Bor. <i>Atherdee</i>	2	Com. <i>Sligo</i>	2
	8	Bor. <i>Sligo</i>	2
Com. <i>London-dery</i>	2		4
Civit <i>London-dery</i>	2	Com. <i>Tipperary</i>	2
Bor. <i>Colraine</i>	2	Bor. <i>Clonmell</i>	2
Bor. <i>Limavaddy</i>	2	Bor. <i>Fetherd</i>	2
	8	Town of <i>Cashell</i>	2
Com. <i>Mayo</i>	2		8
Bor. <i>Castlebar</i>	2	Com. <i>Tyrone</i>	2
	4	Bor. <i>Donegall</i>	2
Com. <i>Meath</i>	2	Town of <i>Clogher</i>	2
Bor. of <i>Trym</i>	2	Bor. of <i>Agher</i>	2
Bor. <i>Kells</i>	2	Bor. <i>Strabane</i>	2
Bor. <i>Navan</i>	2		10
Bor. <i>Akbbay</i>	2	Com. <i>Waterford</i>	2
Bor. <i>Duleeke</i>	2	Civit. <i>Waterford</i>	2
Bor. <i>Ratoorb</i>	2	Bor. <i>Dungharvan</i>	2
	14	Bor. <i>Lismore</i>	2
Com. <i>Monaghan</i>	2	Bor. <i>Pallow</i>	2
Bor. <i>Monaghan</i>	2		10
	4	Com. <i>West Meath</i>	2
Com. <i>Regina</i>	2	Bor. <i>Athlone</i>	2
Bor. <i>Bollakill</i>	2	Bor. <i>Fower</i>	2
Bor. <i>Maryborough</i>	2	Bor. <i>Kilbegan</i>	2
	6	Bor. <i>Molinger</i>	2
Com. <i>Roscommon</i>	2		10
Bor. <i>Roscommon</i>	2	Com. <i>Wicklow</i>	2
Bor. <i>Tulsk</i>	2	Bor. <i>Wicklow</i>	2
	6	Bor. <i>Caresford</i>	2
L	5	Bor	

Bor. <i>Baltinglass</i>	2	Bor. <i>Feathard</i>	2
	8	Bor. <i>Bannow</i>	2
Com. <i>Wexford</i>	2	Bor. <i>Cloghmaine</i>	2
Town of <i>Wexford</i>	2	Bor. <i>Taghman</i>	2
Town of <i>Ross</i>	2	Bor. <i>Newborough</i>	2
Bor. <i>Eniscourthy</i>	2		18

Total of Parliament Men  
 Returned in the whole King- }  
 dome of *Ireland* } 275.

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Sub-

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Subsidiary Payments of the Nobility,  
with those of the Bishopricks, as  
likewise the four Provincial Subsi-  
dies, follow here all in their order.

*Nobility Subsidy.*

	l.	s.	d.
<b>D</b> uke of Ormond	100	00	00
Earle of Corke	110	00	00
Marquiss of Antrim	060	00	00
{ Kildare	056	13	00
{ Thomond	040	00	00
{ Clanrickard	035	00	00
{ Castlehaven	002	10	00
{ Roscomen	015	00	00
{ Londonderry	010	00	00
{ Desmond	010	00	00
{ Meath	015	00	00
{ Barrymore	030	00	00
{ Carbery	015	00	00
{ Arglash	020	00	00
{ Dunnigall	050	00	00
{ Cavan	002	10	00
{ Clanbrazill	030	00	00
{ Inchiquin	010	00	00
{ Clancarty	040	00	00

Earl of

Earl

Earl of	{ Orrery	020	00	00
	Montrath	015	00	00
	Drogheda	040	00	00
	{ Waterford	023	00	00
	Mountalexander	005	00	00
	Castlemaine	020	00	00
	Arran	015	00	00
	{ Carlingford	015	00	00

## Viscounts.

Viscount	{ G	Randison	10	00	00
		Willmot	10	00	00
		Valentia	30	00	00
		Dillon	20	00	00
		Loftus of Fly	12	10	00
		Swords	12	10	00
		Kilmurry	12	10	00
		Conway	30	00	00
		Mayo	10	00	00
		Castleston	20	00	00
		Chaworth	20	00	00
		Savil	20	00	00
		Scudamore of Sligoe	12	10	00
		Lumley	12	10	00
		Strangford	12	10	00
		Wenman of Triam	10	00	00
	{	Randlagh	25	00	00

Viscount



# of Ireland.

229

Viscount	Mollene	17	10	00
	Fairfax	12	10	00
	Fitz Williams	07	00	00
	Rathcoole	12	10	00
	Bareford	12	10	00
	Bulkeley	15	00	00
	Ogle	12	10	00
	Bronckart	12	10	00
	Cullers	20	00	00
	Gallmoy	03	00	00
	Kingstand	20	00	00
	Shannon	12	10	00
	Dromore	12	10	00
	Clain	10	00	00
	Mazareene	10	00	00
	Cholmondlegh	12	10	00
	Fanshaw of Donnemore	05	00	00
	Duncannon	12	10	00
	Fitz-Harding	20	00	00
	Clare	20	00	00
	Charlemount	10	00	00
	Powerscourt	10	00	00

## Lord Barons.

Lord	{	B	Remingham	01	00	00
			Courcy	02	00	00
			Kerry	10	00	00
				Lord		

## The present State

Lord	Hoath	05	00	00
	Power & Bar. Mountnorres	05	00	00
	Cahir	05	00	00
	Montjoy	12	10	00
	Felliot	15	00	00
	Maynord	15	00	00
	Gerges	05	00	00
	Digby	10	00	00
	Fitz-Williams	10	00	00
	Aungier	10	00	00
	Herbert	20	00	00
	Baltimore	10	00	00
	Brereton of Laghlin	05	00	00
	Coltaine	10	00	00
	Sherard of Letrim	10	00	00
	Strabane	05	00	00
	Hawley of Duncannon	05	00	00
	Allington of Killard	20	00	00
	Kingston	10	00	00
	Collooney	10	00	00
	Santry	10	00	00
	Clanawly	10	00	00
Total		1595	03	00

## Womens Subsidies.

Lady	{	C	Lanrickard	20	00	00
			Thomond	10	00	00
						Lady

of Ireland.

231

Lady	Antrim	11	13	00
	Roscommon	05	00	00
	Clanbrazil	10	00	00
	Clancarry	15	00	00
	Mountalexander	06	00	00
	Glamoy	03	00	00
	Firconnell	04	13	00
	Massareene	05	00	00
	Lady ———	10	00	00
	Strabane	02	00	00
	Strabane	02	00	00
	Total	102	08	00

Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of  
the Diocess of *Ardmagh*.

Bishoprick of	<b>A</b> rch-Bishoprick of } <i>Ardmagh</i>	180	17	08
	<i>Meath</i>	206	13	00
	<i>Londonderry</i>	142	08	00
	<i>Clogher</i>	105	08	00
	<i>Connor</i>	044	00	00
	<i>Rapho</i>	086	12	00
	<i>Dromore</i>	020	12	00
	<i>Downe</i>	016	16	00
	<i>Kilmore</i>	059	08	00
	<i>Ardagh</i>	012	12	00
	Total	875	06	08
			Subsi.	

# Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of the Diocess of *Dublin*.

Bishopr. of	{	Arch-Bishoprick of	247	14	00
		Dublin			
		Kildare	101	12	00
		Osfory	088	00	00
		Fernes	111	08	00
		Leighlin	044	08	00
		Total	593	02	00

# Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of the Diocess of *Cashell*.

Bishoprick of	Arch-Bishoprick of	}	051	12	00
	Cashell				
	Waterford &	}	102	09	06
	Lismore				
	Corke		032	16	00
	Cloyne		041	04	00
	Lymrick		031	12	00
	Killaloe		020	08	00
	Ardfert		004	05	00
	Total		284	06	00

Subsi-

Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of  
the Diocess of *Tuam*.

Bishoprick of	Arch Bishoprick of	{	022	16	00	
	<i>Tuam.</i>					
	<i>Elphin</i>		034	04	00	
	<i>Athconry &amp;</i>		{	012	00	00
	<i>Killala</i>					
	<i>Clonfert</i>			030	08	00
	<i>Kilmacough</i>	007	00	00		
	Total	106	08	00		

Provincial Subsidies.

LEINSTER.

City of <i>Dublin</i>	601	18	01	ob.
County of <i>Dublin</i>	551	18	01	ob.
County of <i>Catherlough</i>	147	10	07	ob.
County of <i>Kildare</i>	477	12	10	ob.
County of <i>Kilkenny</i>	479	02	00	
City of <i>Kilkenny</i>	644	02	04	ob.
County of <i>Waxford</i>	323	10	09	
County of <i>Wicklow</i>	154	16	06	
<i>Queens County</i>	242	13	09	
<i>Kings</i>				

<i>Kings County</i>	224	09	03	
<i>County of Longford</i>	145	07	00	
<i>County of West Meath</i>	356	17	04	ob.
<i>County of Meath</i>	659	13	04	ob.
<i>County of Louth</i>	217	13	09	
<i>Villa de Drogheda</i>	053	11	06	
Total	4580	08	04	ob.

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## MUNSTER.

<b>C</b> ounty & City of <i>Corke</i>	1364	18	00	
City of <i>Waterford</i>	097	01	00	
<i>County of Waterford</i>	265	15	00	
<i>County of Tipperary</i>	1039	17	00	
<i>City of Lymrick</i>	097	01	00	
<i>County of Lymrick</i>	492	08	00	
<i>County of Kerry</i>	209	19	03	
Total	3566	19	03	

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## CONNAGHT.

<b>C</b> ounty of <i>Galway</i>	153	15	01	ob.
Town of <i>Galway</i>	082	10	06	
<i>County of Roscommon</i>	350	17	04	ob.
<i>County of Mayo</i>	385	18	04	ob.
<i>County of Lerryms</i>	160	05	06	
County				

# of Ireland.

235

County of <i>Sleigo</i>	295	10	03
County of <i>Clare</i>	386	14	06
Total	2515	11	07 ob.

## U L S T E R.

County of <i>Antrim</i> and } Town of <i>Carrickfergus</i> }	402	13	06
County of <i>Downe</i>	387	16	02
County of <i>Dunnagall</i>	461	19	06
Coun. & City of <i>Londonderry</i>	374	01	10 ob.
County of <i>Ard-ragh</i>	258	15	03
County of <i>Monighon</i>	267	05	03
County of <i>Cavan</i>	272	09	09
County of <i>Fermanagh</i>	237	07	06
County of <i>Tyrone</i>	367	18	10 ob.
Total	3030	07	08

Total of the four Provinces 13693 06 11

Before I come to the Character of the Chief Towns, it will not be amiss to insert here the Fees and Salaries belonging to several Courts and Offices, Creation money, with Military and Temporary Payments, &c. according to the Establishment made in 1669.

The

*The Court of Exchequer.*

<b>V</b> ice Treasurer	050 00 00
Chancelor	200 00 00
Chief Baron	400 00 00
Second Baron	300 00 00
Third Baron	200 00 00
Prime Serjeant	020 10 00
Attorney General	075 00 00
Soliciter General	075 00 00
Chief Remembrancer	030 00 00
Auditor General	234 06 03
Surveyor General	060 00 00
Escheator of <i>Leinster</i>	006 13 04
Escheator of <i>Munster</i>	001 05 00
Escheator of <i>Connaght</i>	001 05 00
Escheator of <i>Ulster</i>	001 05 00
Second Remembrancer	007 15 06
Clerke of the Pipe	015 00 00
Chief Chamberlaine	010 00 00
Second Chamberlaine	005 00 00
Comptroller of the Pipe	007 00 00
Usher of the Exchequer	012 10 00
Transcriptor & Foreign Opposer	015 00 00
Summonister	007 10 00
Marshall of the four Courts	004 00 00
Clerke of the Pells	030 00 00
	Clerke

Clerk  
CryeC  
Thi  
CleC  
T  
C  
C



of Ireland.

237

Clerke of the first Fruits	027	10	00
Cryer of the Exchequer	001	13	04
Total	1798	03	05

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*Kings Bench.*

<b>C</b> Chief Justice	500	00	00
Second Justice	300	00	00
Third Justice	300	00	00
Clerke of the Crown	007	10	00
Total	1107	10	00

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*Court of Chancery.*

<b>C</b> Hancellor of Ireland	1200	00	00
Master of the Rolls	0144	03	03
Two Masters of Chancery	0040	00	00
Clerke of the Crown	0025	00	00
Clerke of the Hanaper	3035	10	00
Total	1444	13	03

*Cour-*

*Common Pleas.*

<b>C</b> Chief Justice	400	00	00
Second Justice	300	00	00
Third Justice	300	00	00
Prothonotary	007	10	00
Total	1007	10	00

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*Starr Chamber.*

<b>C</b> Clerk of the Starr Chamb.	010	00	00
Marshal of the same	010	00	00
Total	020	00	00

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*Officers attending the State.*

<b>S</b> Ecretary of State	200	00	00
For his Intelligence	100	00	00
Clerk of the Council	047	10	00
Ulster King at Arms	026	13	04
<del>Ablone</del> Pursivant	013	13	09
Serjeant at Arms	025	00	00
Wakefield Pursivant	013	13	09

Rec

*of Ireland.*

239

Roe Pursivant	010 00 00
Keeper of the Council Chamb.	018 05 00
Total	454 15 10

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Judges of the Circuits	1000 00 00
A Share to be paid only to those that go, the rest saved to the King.	

*Incidents.*

Judges, Master of the Rolls	}	173 06 08
& Kings Councils Robes		
Liberates for the Officers of the Exchequer	}	082 02 04
For the Receipt House		
Keeper of the same		005 00 00
Singers of Christ-Church, Term		002 00 00
Paper & Parchm. to the Court		150 00 00
Pursivants of the Exchequer		071 05 00
Total		508 14 00

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*Military Payments.*

The Lord Lieutenant for all his Entertainments	}	6593 16 08
in time of Peace		

In

In Case of War as General	3 192 04 01
Lieutenants Gen. of the Army	0365 00 00
Major General	0365 00 00
Commissary Gen. of the Army	0365 00 00

*These only to be paid in time of War, and the Grants to cease with present possessors.*

<b>L</b> ord Lieutenant as before	6593 16 08
Knight Marshal of Ireland	0489 06 07
Muster Master	0365 00 00
Comptrollor of the Cheques	365 00 00
Four Commissaries	400 00 00
A Corporal of the Field at 5 s. per diem	} 091 05 00
Advocate Gen. 6 s. 8 d. per diem	
Physician Gen. at 10 s. per diem	182 10 00
Chyrurgeon of the Army	121 13 04
Total	8730 04 11

### *Provincial Officers.*

<b>P</b> resident of Munster	908 19 09 ob.
President of Connaght	908 19 09 ob.
	The

The Provost Marshal of  
the four Provinces at  
77l. 3 s. 7 d. ob. q. each  
per an. to cease with  
the present possessors.

}

308 14 07

Total

2126 14 02

*Constables.*

Constable of <i>Dublin</i> Castle	20 00 00
The Porter	13 13 09
Constable & Porter of <i>Limrick</i>	20 05 03
Constable of <i>Roscommon</i> Castle	60 00 00
Constable & Porter of <i>Athlone</i>	18 07 09
Constable of <i>Carrickfergus</i>	45 12 00
Total	177 18 09

*Officers of the Ordnance and Train  
of Artillery.*

Master of the Ordnance	491 04 07
Lieutenant of the } Ordnance at 7 s. p. diem	127 25 00
Comptroller of the Ord- nance at 6 s. per diem	109 10 00
M	The

The Ingeneer Overseer, &c. of the Fortifications at 5 s. per diem	}	091 05 00
Several other Officers of the Ordnance in <i>Leinster</i>	}	774 02 00
Officers of the Ordnance in <i>Munster</i>		270 14 00
Officers of the Ordnance in <i>Connaght</i>		176 08 04
Officers of the Ordnance in <i>Ulster</i>		136 17 06
Total		2177 06 05

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## Provincial Officers.

Chief Justice of <i>Munster</i>	100 00 00
Second Justice of <i>Munster</i>	066 13 04
Attorney of <i>Munster</i>	013 06 08
Clerk of the Council	007 10 00
Serjeant at Armes	020 00 00
Total	207 10 00

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## Connaght.

Chief Justice	100 00 00
Second Justice	066 13 04
Attor-	

**of Ireland.**

243

Attorney	020 00 00
Clerk of the Council	007 10 00
Seijeant at Arms	020 00 00
Total	214 03 04

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**Officers of the Customs, &c.  
Dublin.**

Customer	007 10 00
Comptroller	007 10 00
Searcher	005 00 00
The Officers of all the other Ports in <i>Ireland</i> }	218 06 08
Total	238 06 08

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Four Commissioners of Appeals	400 00 00
Accomptants General of the Customs & Excise (not to be paid in time of <i>Farme</i> ) }	[200 00 00

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**Creation Money.**

Duke of Ormond	40 00 00
Marques of <i>Antrim</i>	40 00 00
M 2	Earl

Earl of	Castlehaven	20	00	00
	Desmond	15	00	00
	Westmeath	15	00	00
	Arglass	15	00	00
	Carbury	15	00	00
	Cavan	15	00	00
	Dunagall	15	00	00
	Clanbrazile	20	00	00
	Inchiquin	20	00	00
	Orrery	20	00	00
	Montrath	20	00	00
	Tircornel	20	00	00
	Clancarty	20	00	00
	Mountalexander	20	00	00
Lord Viscount	Carlingford	20	00	00
	Grandison	10	00	00
	Willmot	10	00	00
	Valentia	10	00	00
	Dillon	10	00	00
	Netterville	10	00	00
	Killultagh	10	00	00
	Magnennis	10	00	00
	Sarsfield	10	00	00
	Ranelagh	10	00	00
	Wenman of Trian	10	00	00
	Shannon	13	6	8
	Clare	10	00	00
	Lord Baron of Cahir	11	5	00
Total		484	11	08
		Where		



Whereas Creation money is granted to one and the same person for two Honours, that Sum which is granted with the highest Title, is only to be paid.

*Perpetuities.*

Colledge of <i>Dublin</i>	388	15	00
Dean of <i>Christ-Church Dub.</i>	045	06	08
Arch-Bishop of <i>Dub.</i> for Proxies.	018	05	06
Bishop of <i>Meath</i> out of the Manner of <i>Trim</i>	003	15	00
Citizens of <i>Dublin</i>	300	00	00
Chanter of <i>Christ-Church</i> for Rent for a Plot of Ground	027	00	00
Total	983	02	02

*Temporary Payments.*

Lord Treasurer	30	00	00
Keeper of the Castle Rooms	18	05	00
Keeper of the Records in <i>Breminghams</i> Tower	10	00	00
Total	58	05	00
M 3			Pen-

## Pensions and Annuities

<b>C</b> ountess of Tirconnell	300 00 00
Patrick Archer 205 l. per annum till he be paid 5883 l. 19 s. 6 d. & 410 l. 5 s. 6 d. being granted to him by Letters Patent, dated March 13. 1662. and his Majesties Letters May 2. 1662.	205 00 00
Lord Coursey and his Son } John Coursey }	150 00 00
Sarah King Widdow p. an.	040 00 00
Mary Warrin p. annum	060 00 00
Sir James Dillon Knight p. an.	500 00 00
Luke Gernon Esq; p. an.	100 00 00
John Dogherty Esq; p. an.	027 07 07
Joseph Maguire per annum	040 00 00
Anne Connock per annum	050 00 00
William Aubry per annum	052 00 00
Total	1524 07 07

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<b>F</b> ive Commissioners of Accompts and the } Clerks allowances	150 00 00
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Pay-

# of Ireland.

247

Payments for Extraordina- ries by concordatums	}	6000 00 00
The total Sum of all the Payments afore said a- mounts to	}	16601 11 11
Total of the Military Payments		155341 13 07
Total of both Lists		171943 05 08

## *Temporary Payments.*

<b>K</b> Night Marsh. of Ireland		198 01 09
Scout Master Ge- neral of Ireland	}	221 13 04
Secretary of War		456 05 00
Governor of Carrickfergus		199 04 07
The Mayor of the City of Dublin		146 00 00
Governor of the County of Clare		182 19 00
Constable of Hillsborough Fort		060 16 08
Total		1464 11 04



## Part III.

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That it much imports the future security of the *British* Planters in *Ireland*, to be for the most part (if not wholly possessed (by way of habitation) of the chief Cities and strong Towns of *Ireland*; as witness the Example of the City of *Dublin*.

## TO THE READER.



Ow much it concerns the future well-fare and security of the *Protestant British* Planters, to be for the most part, if not wholly possessed (by way of Habitation) of the chief Cities and strong Towns of *Ireland*, doth very evidently appear by these two Examples, which may serve as sufficient Instances for all the rest; viz. That of the City of *Dublin*; And the other, those of *Limrick*, and *Galway*. As for *Dublin*, though it owned

ed its whole being (upon the matter) and especially the sole cause of its late flourishing state and condition, so the constant residency of the Lords Lieutenants, and Lords Deputies of Ireland, and the four Courts of Judicature there; yet so ungrateful were the Popish Irish party therein, and so little sensible of their own good; as that when the Lords Commissioners (upon the first discovery of the Conspiracy in October 1641.) having happily provided for the security of the Castle of Dublin; Their Lords took next into their care how to secure the City in some sort against any sudden attempts, which proved a work not easie to be effected; not only in regard of the crasiness of the Walls, the large Suburbs and weakness of the place; but much more in respect of the corrupt ill affection of the Popish Irish Inhabitants within the City: who for the most part were so strangely deluded with the ill insinuations of their Priests, as they did certainly (as was found afterwards by woeful experience) do all that in them lay, to promote the Rebellious designs then set on foot (as they believed) only for the re-settlement of their Religion, and

recovery of their Liberties. They were the Instruments to convey away privately most of the chief Conspirators, who would have surpris'd the Castle on the 23d of October. They secretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country, they likewise sent them relief that were abroad, by secret ways; conveying as well Ammunition, as intelligence of all passages from thence. And such wrong aversions had they against all Contributions for the maintenance of his Majesties Army; as in the very beginning of the Rebellion, when the Lords sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and laying before them the high necessities of the State, together with the apparant danger of the City and Kingdom, desired to borrow a considerable sum of money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next Treasure that should arrive out of England. The Popish party amongst them was so prevalent, as that after a most serious consultation, & very solemn debate among themselves, they most impudently returned this answer, that they were not ab'e to furnish above forty pounds, and part of that was to be brought in in Castle:

And

And when in the height of the distractions there were no fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down about that very time; so careless were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that breach, as that under pretence of want of money, they let it lie open till the Lords sent unto them forty pounds towards the reparation.

As for those of Limrick and Galla-  
 way, they had no less obligations laid  
 upon them by the State of England, un-  
 der whose prosperous and benigne Go-  
 vernment, they flourished (during the  
 last forty years peace) in such an ex-  
 traordinary manner (witness those ma-  
 ny stately Buildings erected, and vast  
 Estates acquired by their Citizens du-  
 ring the said time) as neither they, nor  
 any of their Ancestors did ever hope to  
 enjoy, or expect to ever see the like: who  
 by reason of the foule dealings of their  
 neighbour country men, were (till of  
 late times) at such perpetual enmity  
 with them, as that they never trusted  
 them (as the old saying is) No farther  
 than they could see them; and for  
 this

And  
 these of  
 Lymrick &  
 Gallaaway.

this cause continually intermarried amongst themselves, and so became (as it were) of one Kindred and Relation through each Town; all being comprehended under a very few Sir names. But surfeiting with too much prosperity, and trusting too much to their own strength, they declared themselves at last, as rank Rebels as any of the rest of their Country-men; for though by reason of the miscarriage of the maine plot of surprizing Dublin Castle, it made them at first to stand at a gage, were put to take up second Counsels; yet, (which seems miraculous) notwithstanding they saw the power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline, and that the Parliament of England had with great alacrity and readinesse undertaken the War, and not only engaged themselves to his Majesty to send over powerful supplies both out of England and Scotland, but by their publick order of both Houses, sent over to the Lords Justices, and Printed at Dublin in the month of November, fully declared their resolutions for the vigorous prosecution of the War of Ireland; And that some Forces were arrived at Dublin



out of England, the Siege of Drogheda or Tredagh raised, those bold perfidious Traitors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the Pale banished by force of his Majesties Armies, of their own Habitations, which were all spoiled and laid waste; yet I say, Such was the strength of the Conspiracy, and so deeply were they engaged in it, as that Limrick and Gallaway did openly declare themselves for the Rebels; The one, by besieging the English (who had betaken themselves for protection) in the Castle of Limrick; And the other, those who had (upon the like score) possessed themselves of the Fort of Gallaway; both being at last forced to yield for want of timely relief; by means whereof many thousands of the English were exposed to the slaughter of their barbarous Enemies, in a great part of the Provinces of Connaght, Leinster and Munster, which otherwise might have been wholly preserved from ruine, if these two Towns alone (which are admirable for their strength and situation) had but cheerfully opened their Gates to the distressed, and firmly continued in their ancient Loyalty to the Crown of Eng-

England; But seeing they so wilfully acted this mad part by the powerful advice of their Popish Priests and Lawyers (wherewith they did at that time mightily abound) having then but a very inconsiderable number of Protestant Families to bear any sway amongst them; I shall therefore conclude, that next to a good Standing Army, the most infallible way (under God) to secure both the Government and the British Planters in Ireland, is to have the chief Towns and Fortresses thereof, for the most part (if not altogether) Inhabited by Protestant Families; A brief Character of the principal of which, are here presented to your view and consideration, in hopes that many more (well worthy of notice) will shortly be added to this number, by such ingenious persons as are thoroughly acquainted with, and well affected to that Country.

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*The Characters of the Chief Towns  
and Cities of IRELAND,  
as they lie in each Province,  
and first of those in the Province  
of Munster, viz.*

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## MUNSTER.



**WATERFORD** on *Waterford.*  
the River *Shoure*, a  
well traded Port, a  
Bishops See, and the  
second City of the  
Kingdome; of great  
fidelity (till of late) to the *English*,  
since the Conquest of *Ireland*, and for  
that cause endowed with many am-  
ple Priviledges. First built by some  
*Norwegian* Pyrates, who though they  
fixed it in one of the most barren  
parts

parts, and most foggy Aire of all the Country, yet they made choice of such a safe and Commodious Site for the use of Shipping, that of a Nest of Pyrates it was soon made a Receit for Merchants, and suddenly grew up to great Wealth and Power: And though it stands at a reasonable good distance from the main Sea, yet Ships of the greatest burthen may safely saile to, and ride at Anchor before the Key thereof, which (I presume) is the handsomest of any in the Kings Dominions: And for the conveniency of conveighing Commodities in smaller Vessels, to several Towns in the adjacent Countries, and namely, *Clonmell, Carricke, Rosse, Kilkenny, Carloe, &c.* by two brave Navigable Rivers more, neer Neighbours to this, *viz.* the *Noare* and *Barrow*, commonly called the three Sisters, because a little below *Waterford* they all empty themselves in one channel into the Sea, no place in *Ireland* can any way compare with it, except *Limrick*. This may be farther observed, that this is the neereſt Port, and

and the readiest place in all *Ireland*, to correspond with *Bristol* and all other Towns of Traffick upon the River *Severn*, by a due Easterly wind from *Bristol* hither, and so back from hence to *Bristol* by a due Westerly wind without any variation, which necessity of various winds in the same Voyage occasions oftentimes passages at Sea to become both tedious and dangerous.

*Kingstale* upon the Mouth of the River *Bany*, a commodious Port, opposite to the Coasts of *Spain*, and fortified in *Tirones* Rebellion by a Spanish Garison, under the command of *Don John D' Aquila*; but soon recovered ( after the defeat of that Grand Rebel neer the Walls thereof ) by the valour and indefatigable industry of *Charles Lord Montjoy*, the then Lord Deputy of this Kingdom. This Town hath this peculiar property, that it is the only safe and ready Port in all *Ireland* for our *English* Ships, and others, to victual at, or refresh themselves, bounding for, or returning homewards from the *West Indies*, and many other parts of the World.

*Corke*

Corke.

**Corke** (by the *Latines* called *Corcagia*) the principal of that County, and a Bishops See; well walled, and fitted with a very commodious Haven, consisting chiefly of one Street reaching out in length; Inhabited by a civil, wealthy and industrious people being now generally all *English*. This may be farther said in praise of this place, that it is like to be ere long (as in good part already) a very flourishing City, being the Shire Town of the largest, richest, and best Inhabited County, with *English* and *Irish*, of any in *Ireland*; And withal, the only throughfare of all *English* Goods and Commodities (as they term them) namely rich Broad-Cloaths, Stuffs and Linnen, Fruits, Spices, &c. sent most commonly this way out of *England*, for those two remarkable Port-Towns of *Limrick* and *Galloway*.

**Tonghall.** *Tonghall* upon the Sea; provided of a safe Road or convenient Haven; it hath this peculiar, that it is the most convenient place in all the South parts of *Ireland*, from whence to transport Cattle, Sheep, &c. to *Ash-bead*

head or to any parts of the West of England.

*Limrick* the principal of that County, and the fourth in estimation of all the Kingdome: Situate in an Island compassed round about with the River *Shannon*, by which means well fortified: A well frequented Empory, and a Bishops See; Distant from the main Ocean about sixty miles, but so accommodated by the River, that Ships of burthen come up close to the very Walls. The Castle and the Bridge, pieces of great strength and beauty, were of the foundation of King *John*, exceedingly delighted with the situation. This may be farther observed touching the happy situation of this place in relation to Traffick and Commerce; that though by reason of some *Cataracts* or Rocky Falls in the River *Shannon* (a little above *Limrick*) the Merchants are necessitated (for the space of about eight or nine miles) to convey their Goods by Land as far as *Killaloe*; but being brought thither, they may be carried up along the said River by Boats of indifferent good Bur-

*Limrick.*

Burthen into many parts of the Provinces of *Leinster* and *Connaght* for the space of about fourscore miles, ( except the necessity of once unloading, the same by reason of *Athlone Bridge* ) which notable inconvenience ( I mean of the *Cataracts* ) was propounded by some, and absolutely intended to be quite taken away ( in the Earl of *Straffords* time ) for the sum of twenty thousand pounds *Sterling*, by turning the Water-course of the River *Shannon* somewhat Eastwards through a large Bogg neer adjoyning to its old Channel, which will appear very feasible to any judicious person that will view the same: But the unhappy troubles that soon ensued, there, quite overthrew this, as well as many other Noble designs of publick concerns, which undoubtedly should have been both undertaken and effected ere now ( if peace had continued ) to the infinite good and honor of that Kingdome.

*Clonmell.* *Clonmell* in the County of *Typperrary*, a place of great strength and consequence, and likely to become very rich ( as in part already ) both by  
rea-



reason of its convenient situation upon the River *Shoure*, passable to it by Boats twenty miles above *Waterford*; and for that it is the place of Judicature for the said County (lately made Palatine) which County for goodness of Land, large extent, and convenient situation, may be esteemed the second best, or at least, one of the second best in all *Ireland*.

*In the Province of Connaght.*

*Gallaway* the Principal of this Province, a Bishops See, and the third City of this Kingdome for beauty and bigness: situate neer the fall of the great Lake or River *Corbes* in the Western Ocean: A noted Emporie, and lately of so great fame with foreign Merchants, that an Out-landish Merchant meeting with an *Irish-man* demanded in what part of *Gallaway Ireland* stood; as if *Gallaway* had been the name of *Ireland*, and *Ireland* only the name of some Town. That *Gallaway* is but of late Erection, or at least not grown noted and famous for Trade till this last Century, ap-

*Gallaway*

appears both by the Buildings of the Town, which are all new (as it were) and uniforme; and by some Figures upon the Town Walls, which intimates, that a great part thereof was either newly erected, or at least reedified in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. And one may be farther confirmed in this opinion, by the information of knowing persons in those parts, who confidently affirm by Tradition, that *Galloway* (till of late times) was but a poor Fisher-Town, to which many poor people resorted yearly in the Month of *September* to take *Her-rings*, where many are most commonly caught about that time of the year, to the great enriching of the place, and the employment of many poor people; and that *Athenree* (eight miles distance from *Galloway* now but a ruinous place (though still pretty well walled about) was anciently esteemed the principal Town of those parts, and then likely but a sorry one too; but good enough for those times, and place, when generally the whole Province of *Connaght*, and most part of *Ireland*, lived

lived in a rude and barbarous manner, neither eating ( excepting *Irish Spoale* without Salt or Sawce ) nor drinking well, nor yet wearing good Cloaths, and then what need was there of Merchants, Manufactory, and consequently of good Towns.

*Sleygo* being the chiefest Town of that County, was but a very poor one about the latter end of the year 1652. having been totally ruined by the late Wars, and nothing left of it but some few bare Walls, and a company of poor *Irish* Cabbins to distinguish the place where it stood. But when one reflects upon the excellent situation thereof; as first, seated on a great Pass, the best, and upon the matter, the sole convenient through-fare of all *Connaght* into the Province of *Ulster*; flanked on the West by a Bay of the Sea, which safely brings to it Ships of indifferent good burthen, and on the East with a Loch or Lake of about five miles in length, out of which runs into the Bay a good stream of water, passing under a Bridge, dividing the Town into two parts, wherein are frequently

ly taken great store of brave *Salmons*, *Pikes* and *Trouts*; and overlooked also from a neer Hill, by a very strong Fort to protect it; The whole Country about it enriched with as good Land as any in *Ireland*, and planted with a late *English* Colony, the better to secure this great Pass; Resorted to from far and neer by very many people to buy Cattle, as Sheep, and Horses, &c. being one of the famousst Marts for that purpose, of any in that part of that Kingdom; and neighbouring within few miles of the great Lake *Earne* ( bounding between the Province of *Connaght* and *Ulster* ) being thirty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, by which, Merchantable Commodities may with much conveniency be conveyed by Boats of good burthen into many parts of *Ulster*, and other adjacent Countries bordering upon that Lake; I say, *Sleygo* being thus happily situated, and accompanied with so many advantages, will without doubt become ere long a very handsome Town, from lately ( as you have heard ) but a very poor and beg-

beggerly Village, to the great  
 strengthning of the *English* Interest  
 thereabouts, which will be always  
 of great consequence, by reason of  
 the advantageous situation of the  
 place, and will therewithal con-  
 duce much to the enriching of all  
 that part of the Country.

*James-Town* in the County of  
*Letrim*, so called by reason King *James-*  
*James* was the first Founder of it, *Town.*  
 well Walled, but the Buildings  
 within almost wholly ruinated at the  
 end of the last War. A place com-  
 modiously seated for Trade upon  
 the River *Shannon*, being passable  
 by Boats from thence as far as  
*Killaloo* neer *Limrick*, which is  
 fourscore miles, or thereabouts, ex-  
 cept the necessity (as I said) of  
 once unlading by reason of *Athlone*  
 Bridge. A Town fit to be carefully  
 looked after, both for the benefit  
 of Trading, as also for the strength-  
 ning of those parts against any ill  
 disposed *Irish*, who either living  
 thereabouts, or resorting thither  
 from other parts upon design of  
 trouble, may very much annoy  
 N the

the *British* Planters in the adjacent Counties, the Countey of *Leitrim* being one of the strongest Fastnesses, by reason it overmuch abounds with Boggs and Woods, fit places for Rebels to shelter themselves in, of any one County in *Ireland*; And bordering upon the Province of *Ulster*, being formerly the very Nest for them, caused it to be too often frequented by those kind of unhappy Creatures.

*Athlone.*

*Athlone* a place of great strength, and the Key of *Connaght*, being on both sides of the River *Shannon*, and joyned by a stately Stone Bridge, built at the charge of *Queen Elizabeth*; That part of the Town on *Connaght* side, whereon stands a goodly Castle, having been enlarged of late, and strongly fortified with an Earthen Wall; So that lying thus commodious for Traffick, the River *Shannon* being passable, as I said, by Boats from *James-Town* hither, and from hence to *Killaloe*; And moreover, like to be much resorted to upon the account of the Court of Presidency to be held here

here for the Province of *Connaght*;  
And being also the greatest Through-  
fare from *Lynster* to *Connaght*, and  
so from thence to *Dublin*, will in  
all probability, cause it in time to  
become a flourishing place, though  
now but beginning to revive from  
its late desolation, to its pristine  
lustre,

*In the Province of Ulster.*

Both situated on the Sea side,  
and within the County of *Louth*, <sup>*Carling-*</sup>  
likely to be thriving places by rea- <sup>*ford*</sup> and  
son of their convenient situation <sup>*Dundalk*</sup>  
for Traffick, and the brave plant-  
ed Countries with *English* therea-  
bouts.

*Knockefergus* the chief of *Antrim*, <sup>*Knockef-*</sup>  
more proper *Rockefergus*, and in <sup>*gus*</sup>  
that sence called *Carigfergus* by the  
*Irish*, from one of the Kings of  
the *Irish-Scots* who there suffered  
Shipwrack: Seated upon a large  
and capacious Bay which giveth  
it both a safe and Commodious  
Port, as well by natural situation

## The present State

as the works of Art, very strongly fortified; by reason of the Neighbourhood of the *Scots* in *Cantire*, from which little distant.

*London-Derry.*

*London-Derry* a Colony of *Londoners*, the best built Town of any in the North of *Ireland*: Situate in a Peninsula of forty Acres, on the one side environed a great part of it, with a River, and on the other side impassable, by reason of the Soyle alwaies deep and moorish: This City being thus strongly situated by Nature, and made stronger by Art, will, with the rest of the chief Towns of this Province, soon become very considerable in point of Wealth and Power, by reason of the speedy planting of this Northern part of the Kingdome, by the great confluence of the Neighbouring *Scots*, with many others who yearly repair hither out of *England* and *Wales* upon the same score: which benefit and advantage, was timely experimented by the Officers of the Army, who have been conceived to be more fortunate, especially



cially at first, by receiving their Lots in this Province, though computed the meanest, and so accordingly rated in their Quit-Rents, than they who got their respective proportions of Land for their Arrears in the other two Provinces of *Lynster* and *Munster*, which fell in the main, upon the first settlement, much short of mens expectations as to this particular.

*In the Province of Lynster.*

*Weishford* or *Wexford* situate on the mouth of the River *Slane*: The first of all the Towns in *Ireland* which received a Colony of *English*. This Town holds a very good correspondence by way of Traffick with the City of *Bristol*, and hath before it, within a Sandy Bar lying between it and the Sea, a fair Pool, wherein most commonly are taken yearly, great store of *Herrings*, which are Transported beyond Sea, to the great benefit of this place: The River is Navigable

gable by small Boats up to *Tnisk-cor-fey* about six miles above this Town, where there is a good quantity of Iron made, which is carried down this River to be dispersed into several parts of *Ireland*, &c.

*Kilkenny.* *Kilkenny* on the River *Newre* the chief Seat of the Bishop of *Ossery*, and the fairest Town of all the Islands: So called *quasi Cella Cannici* the Cell or Monastery of *Canninus*, a man of great renown in those days for Piety in these parts of the Country. This City, besides that is situated in a very brave and well inhabited Country, is also honored with two Noble Seats of the Duke of *Ormond* in and neer it, that is to say, the Castle of *Kilkenny* in it, and *Donmore* House neer it.

[*Ross.* *Ross* once populous, well Traded, and of large circumference, but of late very ruinous, nothing almost remaining but the Walls, which were built by *Isabel* the daughter of *Richard Strongbow* Earl of *Pembroke*, the fortunate Conqueror of this Island for King *Henry* the Second; now beginning to be pretty

ty well inhabited, and well deserving to be farther improved by the advance of Manufactory and Commerce, as being situated upon a brave Navigable River where Ships of four or five hundred Tun may safely ride before the Key of it. As yet destitute of any considerable Trade by reason of its too near neighborhood to the City of *Waterford*; But when the Country thereabouts comes to be better inhabited with *English*, then it may be well hoped this Town will become a place of good consideration and consequence.

*Caterlough* commonly, but corruptly *Carlough*, having in it a strong Castle, and being the chief of that County, is now from a very mean beginning (having been wholly destroyed by the late Wars) grown to be a very fine Market Town, increasing both in Wealth and good Buildings; Situated near a pleasant River Navigable by Boats from *Ross* hither; placed in a fertile and well inhabited Countrey, thirty miles from *Dublin*, and in

*Carlough.*

## The present State

a very convenient Stage thither, from the greatest part of *Munster*, and a good part of the Province of *Leinster*, which doth and will hereafter, much conduce to its enlargement.

*Tredagh.* *Tredagh*, more properly *Drogheadah*, situate on the River *Boine*, on the edge of *Ulster*, to which Province belongs so much of the Town as lieth on the North side of that River. A very faire and populous City, as well by Art as Nature very strongly fortified, and furnished with a large and Commodious Haven. It took the name *Droghedab* from the Bridge there built upon the River for the conveniency of passage (as the word signifieth in that Language) and therefore called *Pontena* by some *Latine* Writers.

*Dublin.* *Dublin* supposed to be the *Eblana* of *Ptolomie*; by the *Irish* called *Balacleigh*, because being seated in a fenny and moorish Soil, it was built on Piles as the word doth signifie in that Language: Situate at or neer the mouth of the River *Liffe*, which

which affordeth it a commodious Haven, but that the entrances thereof are many times encumbered with heaps of Sand. The City very Rich and Populous, as being the Metropolis of all the Island, the Seat of the Lord Deputy, an Arch-bishops See, and an University, besides the benefit redounding from the Courts of Justice. In those respects well fortified against all emergencies; and adorned with many goodly Buildings both private and publick. The Principal of which, are the Castle, wherein the Lord Deputy resideth, built by *Henry Loundres* once once Arch-Bishop here; a Colledge founded by Queen *Elizabeth*, to the honor, and by the name of the Blessed *Trinity*; The Cathedral Church dedicated to *Saint Patrick*, the Apostle of the *Irish* Nation; a fair Collegiate Church called *Christ-Church*; besides thirteen others destinated to Parochial Meetings. Being destroyed almost to nothing in the *Danish* War, it was re-edified by

*Harald*, surnamed *Harfarger*, King of the *Norwegians*, then Masters of most part of the Island; and after the subjection of it to the Crown of *England*, was peopled with a Colonie of *Bristol* men.

This may be farther observed, that though *Dublin* is not seated in the best and most convenient place, that is in the middle, yet it is seated in the second best, that is, over against the middle of *Ireland*; and directly opposite to the neereſt passage into *England*, being *Holy Head*, twelve hours Saile with a prosperous Gale of Wind, and about twenty Leagues distance from this place. The first affords it an excellent conveniency for all manner of businesſes to be transacted to and from this City (as well by Water as Land) into all parts of the Kingdome, with as little charge as possibly may be. The other, a rare advantage for the maintenance of Traffick and Commerce with *England*, and all other parts of the World, especially with the City of *London*, from whence

whence (upon the least notice given) Merchantable Goods of all kinds are soon dispatched hither, or into any other parts of this Realm, as occasion [requires; And that with far more speed than formerly, by reason of the late erecting of Post-houses in all the principal Towns and Cities of this Kingdome, which accommodates all persons with the conveniency of keeping good correspondency (by way of Letters, and that most commonly twice a week) with any, even the remotest part of *Ireland*, at the charge of eight pence or twelve pence, which could not formerly be brought to pass under ten or twenty shillings, and that sometimes with so slow a dispatch, as gave occasion many times of no small prejudice to the parties concern'd. All these conveniencies and advantages have so far contributed to the present splendor and great increase of this City, as that it now may be justly conceived to be grown (withint his fifty or sixty years) twice as large, and  
for

for handsomness of Building, beyond all compare, of what it might any way pretend unto in any former Age.

*Dublin* thus wholly deriving her present lustre and happiness from the late prosperous Settlement of *Ireland* under the *English* Government, being but a very mean and inconsiderable *Metropolis* for so Noble a Kingdom, during the long continued misgovernment of that Realm, bares in some particulars, somewhat a like resemblance with that of the City of *London*; Which, first, since quitting our selves from our expensive Relation and Correspondency with the Church of *Rome*; The declining of our unprofitable Contests with *France*; The Reducing of *Ireland* to an Orderly Common-wealth; And last of all by the happy Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in the Person of King *James* of blessed memory, thereby succesfully affording us a very fit opportunity of turning the current of all our vast former expenses.



ces both of Blood and Treasure, into the honorable, and profitable undertaking of a gallant Trade with both the *Indies*, and many other parts of the World; But especially by planting of already very considerable Colonies in the *West-Indies*, hath grown, since the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign till this present (being about an hundred and twelve years) to be twice as large, and much more beautiful then ever it was, since the first foundation thereof, being some two thousand five hundred years agoe.

It is therefore well observed; That there is required to the Magnificence and Splendor of Cities; First a Navigable River, or some such easie passage by Sea, which will bring thither a continual Concourse and Trade of Merchants; as at *Venice*, *London*, *Amsterdam*. Secondly, some Staple-Manufactories and Commodities which will draw the like resort of Merchants, though the conveniency of Sea or Rivers invite them.

them not; As at *Newremberge* in *Germany*, a drie Town, but mightily Traded. Thirdly, the Palace of the Prince; for *ubi Imperator, ibi Roma*, where the Court is, there will be a continual confluence, of Nobles, Gentry and Merchants, and all sorts of Trades: And by this means *Madrid* not long since a poor and beggerly Village, is grown the most populous City in all *Spain*. Fourthly, the residence of the Nobility beautifieth a City with Stately, and Magnificent Buildings; which makes the Cities of *Italy* so much excel our in *England*, their Nobles dwelling in the Cities, and ours for the most part in their Country-Houses. Fifthly, the Seats or Tribunals of Justice, on which both Advocates and Clients are to give attendance; as in the Parliamentary Cities in *France*, and in *Spires* in *Germany*. Sixthly, Universities and Schools of Learning, to which the Youth from all parts are to make resort; which hath been long the chief cause of the flourish-

flourishing of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Bononia* in *Italy*, and other Cities of good Note beyond the Seas. Seventhly, Immunity from Tolls and Taxes, most men being desirous to inhabite there, where their Income will be greatest, their Priviledges largest, and their disbursements least: So *Naples*, *Venice*, *Florence* having been desolated by Plagues, were again suddenly re-peopled by granting large Immunities to all comers in; All which Requisites, are (as I conceive) inherent and inseparable in, and to the above mentioned two Cities, to wit, *London* and *Dublin*.

The City of *Dublin* in times past, for the due Administration of Civil Government, had a Provost for the Chief Magistrate: But in the year of Mans Redemption, 1409. King *Henry* the Fourth granted them liberty to Elect every year a Mayor and two Bayliffs, and that the Mayor should have a guilt Sword carried before him for ever. And *Edward* the Sixth (to heap more honour upon

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on this place) changed the two Bayliffs afterwards into Sheriffs: And of late, our Gracious Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, honored this City with a Lord Mayor; So that there is nothing wanting here that may serve to make the State of a City most magnificent and flourishing.

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**FINIS.**

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